



*DANIEL explaining the Hind
Writing on the Wall.*

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,	MEDES and PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,	MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS,	AND
BABYLONIANS,	GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

*Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence
in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of
Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE
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CARTHAGINIANS.

CHAP. II.

*The history of CARTHAGE, from the first Punic war
to its destruction.*

THE plan laid down by me for the prosecution of this history, does not allow me to enter into an exact detail of the wars between Rome and Carthage; since that relates rather to the Roman history, which I shall only transiently and occasionally touch upon. My business is to relate such facts only, as may give the reader a just idea of the republick, whose history lies before me; and this I may do, by confining myself to those particulars which relate chiefly to the Carthaginians, such as their transactions in Sicily, Spain, and Africa, which are sufficiently extensive.

I have already observed, that from the first Punic war to the ruin of Carthage, there were an hundred and eighteen years. This whole time may be divided into five parts or intervals.



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ARTICLE I.

The first PUNIC War.

(a) **T**HE first Punic war arose from the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers, in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, they soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained sole masters of that important city. They then assumed the name of Mameritines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated in the same cruel manner the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, on the other side of the strait. These two perfidious cities, supporting one another, became at last formidable to their neighbours; and especially Messina, which being very powerful, gave great umbrage and uneasiness both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed one part of Sicily. After the Romans had got rid of the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly of Pyrrhus, they began to think it time to call their citizens to account, who had settled themselves, near two years, at Rhegium, in so cruel and treacherous a manner. Accordingly they took the city, and killed, in the attack, the greatest

(a) A. M. 3724. A. Rom. 468. Ant. J. C. 820. Polyb. l. i. p. 3. Edit. Gronov.

greatest part of the inhabitants, who, armed with despair, had fought to the last gasp: three hundred only were left, who were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in making this bloody execution, was, to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakened, as well by the ruin of their confederate city, as by the losses sustained from the Syracusans, who had lately placed Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their own safety. But divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, whilst the other called in the Romans to their assistance, and resolved to put them in possession of their city.

(b) The affair was debated in the Roman senate, where, being considered in all its lights, it appeared to have some difficulties. On one hand, it was thought base, and altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue, for them to undertake openly the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was exactly the same with that of the Rhegians, whom the Romans had punished with so exemplary a severity. On the other hand, it was of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians who, not satisfied with their conquests in Africa and Spain, had also made themselves masters of almost all the islands of the Sardinian and Hetrurian seas; and would certainly get all Sicily into their hands if they should be suffered to possess themselves of Messina. From thence into Italy the passage was very short; and it was in some manner to invite an enemy to come over, to leave him that entrance open. These reasons, though so strong, could not prevail with the senate to declare in favour of the Mamertines; and accordingly, motives of honour and justice prevailed over those of interest and policy. (c) But the people were not so scrupulous; for, in an assembly held on this subject, it was resolved that the Mamertines should be assisted. The con-

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ful

(b) Polyb. l. i. p. 12, 13, 14, 15. Edit. Gronov. (c) A. M. 3741. A. Carth. 583. A. Rom. 485. Ant. J. C. 623. Frontin.

ful Appius Claudius immediately set forward with his army, and boldly crossed the strait, after he had, by an ingenious stratagem, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian general. The Carthaginians, partly by art and partly by force, were driven out of the citadel; and the city was by this means surrendered immediately to the consul. The Carthaginians hanged their general, for having given up the citadel in so cowardly a manner, and prepared to besiege the town with all their forces. Hiero joined them with his own. But the consul having defeated them separately, raised the siege, and laid waste at pleasure the neighbouring country, the enemy not daring to face him. This was the first expedition which the Romans made out of Italy.

It is doubted*, whether the motives which prompted the Romans to undertake this expedition, were very upright, and exactly conformable to the rules of strict justice. However this be, their passage into Sicily, and the succour they gave to the inhabitants of Messina, may have laid to have been the first steps by which they ascended to that height of glory and grandeur they afterwards attained.

(d) Hiero, having reconciled himself to the Romans, and entered into an alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and sent numerous armies into that island. (e) Agrigentum was their place of arms, which, being attacked by the Romans, was won by them, after they had besieged it seven months, and gained one battle.

(f) Notwithstanding the advantage of this victory, and the conquest of so important a city, the Romans still were not satisfied. They were sensible, that whilst the Carthaginians should continue masters at sea, the maritime places in the island would always side with them, and put it out of their power ever to drive them out of Sicily. Besides, they

(d) Polyb. l. i. p. 15—19.

(e) A. M. 3743. A. Rom. 487.

(f) Id. p. 20.

* The Chevalier Polard examines this question in his remarks upon Polybius, l. i. p. 16.

they could not with any patience see Africa enjoy a profound tranquillity, at a time that Italy was infested by so many incursions of its enemies. They now first formed the design of having a fleet, and of disputing the empire of the sea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in outward appearance rash; but argued the courage and grandeur of the Roman genius. The Romans were not then possessed of a single vessel, which they could call their own; and the ships which had transported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were unexperienced in sea affairs, had no carpenters for the building of ships, and knew nothing of the Quinqueremes, or five-oared galleys, in which the chief strength of fleets at that time consisted, but happily, the year before, one had been taken upon the coasts of Italy, which served as a model to build others by. The Romans now applied themselves with ardour and incredible industry to the building of ships in the same form; and in the mean time they got together a set of rowers, who were taught an exercise and discipline utterly unknown to them before, in the following manner. Benches were made, on the shore, in the same order and fashion with those of galleys. The rowers were seated on these benches, and taught, as if they had been furnished with oars, to throw themselves backwards with their arms drawn to their breasts; and then to throw their bodies and arms forward in one regular motion, the instant their commanding officer gave the signal. In two months, one hundred five-oared, and twenty three-oared galleys were built; and after some time had been spent in exercising the rowers on ship-board, the fleet put to sea, and went in quest of the enemy. The consul Duillius had the command of it.

(g) The Romans coming up with the Carthaginians near the coast of Myle, they prepared for an engagement. As the Roman galleys, by their being clumsily and hastily built, were neither very nimble, nor easy to work, this inconvenience was supplied by a * machine invented for

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this

(g) A. M. 3745. A. Rom. 489. Polyb. l. i. p. 22.

* See the several species of this machine in the explanations of the plates of the second part of Vol. VIII. of this work, after the Chevalier Polard.

this occasion, and afterwards known by the name of the (b) *Corvus* (*Grow or Crane*) by the help of which they grappled the enemy's ships, boarded them, and immediately came to close engagement. The signal for fighting was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of an hundred and thirty sail, under the command of Hannibal *. He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians, highly despising enemies who were utterly unacquainted with sea-affairs, imagined that their very appearance would put them to flight, and therefore came forward boldly, with little expectation of fighting; but firmly imagining they should reap the spoils, which they had already devoured with their eyes. They were nevertheless a little surprized at the sight of the above-mentioned engines, raised on the prow of every one of the enemy's ships, and which was entirely new to them. But their astonishment increased, when they saw these engines drop down at once; and being thrown forcibly into their vessels, grapple them in spite of all resistance. This changed the form of the engagement, and obliged the Carthaginians to come to close engagement with their enemies, as though they had fought them on land. They soon were unable to sustain the attack of the Roman vessels, upon which a horrible slaughter ensued; and the Carthaginians lost fourscore vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping with difficulty in a small boat.

So considerable and unexpected a victory, raised the courage of the Romans, and seemed to redouble their vigour for the continuance of the war. Extraordinary honours were bestowed on Duillius, who was the first Roman that had a naval triumph decreed him. Besides which, a rostral pillar was erected in his honour, with a noble inscription; which pillar is now standing in Rome †.

(i) During the two following years, the Romans grew insensibly stronger at sea, by their gaining several naval victories

(b) Polyb. l. i. p. 31.

* A different person from the great Hannibal.

† These pillars are called Rostra-

(i) Polyb. l. i. p. 24.

tæ, from the beaks of ships, with which they were adorned, Rostra.

victories. But these were considered by them only as essays preparatory to the great design they meditated of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more; and to divert so dangerous a blow, they resolved to fight the enemy, whatever might be the consequence.

(k) The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius consuls for this year. Their fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty vessels, on board of which were one hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel having three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty soldiers. That of the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had twenty vessels more than the Romans, and a greater number of men in proportion. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily. No man could behold two such formidable navies, or be a spectator of the extraordinary preparations they made for fighting, without being under some concern, on seeing the danger which menaced two of the most powerful states in the world. As the courage on both sides was equal, and no great disparity in the forces, the fight was obstinate, and the victory long doubtful; but at last the Carthaginians were overcome. More than sixty of their ships were taken by the enemy, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost twenty-four, not one of which was taken by the Carthaginians.

(l) The fruit of this victory, as the Romans had designed it, was their sailing to Africa, after having refitted their ships, and provided them with all necessaries for carrying on a long war in a foreign country. They landed happily in Africa, and begun the war by taking a town called Clypea, which had a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome, to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the senate, they over-ran the open country, in which they made terrible havock; bringing away whole flocks of cattle, and twenty thousand prisoners.

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(k) A. M. 3749. A. Rom. 493. Ibid. l. i. p. 25. (l) Ibid. p. 30

(*m*) The express returned in the mean time with the orders of the senate, which were, that Regulus should continue to command the armies in Africa, with the title of Proconsul ; and that his colleague should return with a great part of the fleet and the forces ; leaving Regulus only forty vessels, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Their leaving the latter with so few ships and troops, was a visible renunciation of the advantages which might have been expected from this descent upon Africa.

The people at Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus ; and the city was in universal joy, when it was known that he was continued in the command in Africa ; (*n*) but he himself was afflicted on that account. When news was brought him of it, he wrote to Rome, and desired, in the strongest terms, that he might be appointed a successor. His chief reason was, that the death of the farmer who rented his grounds, having given one of his hirelings an opportunity of carrying off all the implements of tillage ; his presence was necessary for taking care of his little spot of ground (it being but seven acres) which was all his family subsisted upon. But the senate undertook to have his lands cultivated at the public expence ; to maintain his wife and children ; and to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained by the robbery of his hireling. Thrice happy age ! in which poverty was thus had in honour, and was united with the most rare and uncommon merit, and the highest employments of the state ! Regulus, thus freed from his domestick cares, bent his whole thoughts on discharging the duty of a general.

(*o*) After taking several castles, he laid siege to Adis, one of the strongest fortresses of the country. The Carthaginians, exasperated at seeing their enemies thus laying waste their lands at pleasure, at last took the field, and marched against them, to force them to raise the siege. With this view, they posted themselves on a hill, which overlooked the Roman camp, and was convenient for annoying

(*m*) A. M. 3750. A. Rom. 494 (*n*) Val. Max. I. iv. c. 4.

(*o*) Polyb. I. i. p. 31—36.

noying the enemy; but at the same time, by its situation, useless to one part of their army. For the strength of the Carthaginians lay chiefly in their horses and elephants, which are of no service but in plains. Regulus did not give them an opportunity of descending from the hill; but taking advantage of this essential mistake of the Carthaginian generals he fell upon them in this post; and after meeting with a feeble resistance, put the enemy to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waste the adjacent countries. Then, having taken Tunis*, an important city, and which brought him near Carthage, he made his army encamp there.

The enemy were in the utmost alarm. All things had succeeded ill with them, their forces had been defeated by sea and land, and upwards of two hundred towns had surrendered to the conqueror. Besides, the Numidians made greater havock in their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital besieged. And their affliction was increased by the concourse of peasants with their wives and children, who flocked from all parts to Carthage for safety; which gave them melancholy apprehensions of a famine in case of a siege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victories torn from

B 5

him

* In the interval betwixt the departure of Manlius and the taking of Tunis we are to place the memorable combat of Regulus and his whole army, with a serpent of so prodigious a size, that the fabulous one of Cadmus is hardly comparable to it. The story of this serpent was elegantly writ by Livy, but it is now lost. Valerius Maximus however partly repairs that loss; and in the last chapter of his first book, gives us this account of this monster from Livy himself—*Ita* [Livy] *says, that on the banks of Bagrada, (an African river) lay a serpent of so enormous a size, that it kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several soldiers had been buried in the wide caverns of its belly, and many pressed to death*

in the spiral volumes of its tail. Its skin was impenetrable to darts; and it was with repeated endeavours that stones, slung from military engines, at last killed it. The serpent then exhibited a sight that was more terrible to the Roman cohorts and legions, than even Carthage itself. The streams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the stench of its putrified carcase infecting the adjacent country, the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its skin, one hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be seen, (together with the jaw-bone of the same monster, in the temple where they were first deposited) as low as the Numantine wars.

him by a successor, made some proposal of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy ; but the conditions appeared so hard, that they could not listen to them. As he did not doubt his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands ; but, by an infatuation, which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated them with haughtiness ; and pretended, that every thing he suffered them to possess, ought to be esteemed a favour, with this farther insult, *That they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor**. So harsh and disdainful a treatment only fired their resentment, and made them resolve rather to die sword in hand, than to do any thing which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received, in the happiest juncture, a reinforcement of auxiliary troops out of Greece, with Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian at their head, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learnt the art of war in that renowned and excellent school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, which were told him at his request ; had clearly discerned the occasion of its loss ; and perfectly informed himself in the strength of Carthage ; he declared publicly, and repeated it often, in the hearing of the rest of the officers, that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing entirely to the incapacity of their generals. These discourses came at last to the ear of the publick council ; the members of it were struck with them, and they requested the favour of seeing and talking with him. He then corroborated his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed by the generals were visible to every one ; and he proved as clearly to the council, that by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. This speech revived the courage and hopes of the Carthaginians ; and Xanthippus was intreated, and, in some measure forced, to accept the command

* Δεῖ τ' ὁ ἀγασθὺς, ἢ νικᾶν, ἢ εἶναι τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. Diod. Eclog. 1. xxiii. c. 10.

command of the army. When the Carthaginians saw, in his exercising of their forces near the city, the manner in which he drew them up in order of battle, made them advance or retreat on the first signal, file off with order and expedition; in a word, from all the evolutions and movements of the military art; they were struck with astonishment, and owned, that the ablest generals which Carthage had hitherto produced, knew nothing in comparison of Xanthippus.

The officers, soldiers, and every one were lost in admiration; and, what is very uncommon, jealousy gave no allay to it; the fear of the present danger, and the love of their country, stifling, without doubt, all other sentiments. The gloomy consternation, which had before seized the whole army, was succeeded by joy and alacrity. The soldiers were urgent to be led against the enemy, in the firm assurance (as they said) of being victorious under their new leader, and of obliterating the disgrace of former defeats. Xanthippus did not suffer their ardour to cool; and the sight of the enemy only inflamed it. When he was got within little more than twelve hundred paces of them, he thought proper to call a council of war, in order to shew a respect to the Carthaginian generals, by consulting them. All unanimously joined in opinion with him; upon which they resolved to give the enemy battle the following day.

The Carthaginian army was composed of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and about an hundred elephants. That of the Romans, as near as may be guessed from what goes before, (for Polybius gives no determinate number) consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and three hundred horse.

It must be a noble sight to see two armies, not overcharged with numbers, but composed of brave soldiers, and commanded by very able generals, engaged in battle. In those tumultuous fights, where two or three hundred thousand are engaged on both sides, confusion is inevitable; and it is difficult, amidst a thousand events, where chance generally seems to have the advantage over counsel, to

discover the true merit of commanders, and the real causes of victory. But in such engagements as this before us, nothing escapes the curiosity of the reader; for he clearly sees the disposition of the two armies; imagines he almost hears the orders given out by the generals; follows all the movements of the army; discovers palpably by that means the faults on both sides; and is thereby qualified to determine, with certainty, the causes to which the victory or defeat are owing. The success of this battle, however inconsiderable it may appear, from the smaller number of the combatants, was nevertheless to decide the fate of Carthage.

The disposition of both armies was as follows. Xanthippus drew up all his elephants in front. Behind these, at some distance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry in one body or phalanx. The foreign troops in the Carthaginian service were posted, one part of them on the right, between the phalanx and the horse; and the other, composed of light-armed soldiers, in platoons, at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

On the side of the Romans, as they apprehended the elephants most, Regulus, to provide against them, posted his light-armed soldiers, on a line, in the front of the legions. In the rear of these, he placed the cohorts one behind another, and the horse on the wings. In thus straitening the front of his main battle, to give it more depth, he indeed took a just precaution, says Polybius, against the elephants; but he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

The two armies being thus drawn up, waited only for the signal. Xanthippus ordered the elephants to advance, to break the ranks of the enemy; and commands the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the same time, the latter, clashing their arms, and shouting after the manner of their country, advance against the enemy. Their cavalry did not stand the onset long, it being so much inferior to that of the Carthaginians. The infantry in the left wing, to avoid the attack

attack of the elephants, and shew how little they feared the mercenaries who formed the enemy's right wing, attacks it, put it to flight, and pursues it to the camp. Those in the first ranks, who were opposed to the elephants, were broke and trod under foot, after fighting valiantly; and the rest of the main body stood firm for some time, by reason of its great depth. But the rear being attacked in flank by the enemy's cavalry, and obliged to face about to receive it; and those who had broke through the elephants, coming to the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all sides, and entirely defeated. The greatest part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants: and the remainder, standing in their ranks, were shot through and through with arrows from the enemy's horse. Only a small number fled; and as they were in an open country, the horse and elephants killed a great part of them. Five hundred, or thereabouts, who went off with Regulus, were taken prisoners with him. The Carthaginians lost, in this battle, eight hundred mercenaries, who were opposed to the left wing of the Romans; and of the latter only two thousand escaped, who, by pursuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engagement. All the rest, Regulus and those taken with him excepted, were left dead in the field. The two thousand, who had escaped the slaughter, retired to Clypea, and were saved in an almost miraculous manner.

The Carthaginians, after having stripped the dead, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus, and five hundred prisoners. Their joy was so much the greater, as, but a very few days before, they had seen themselves upon the brink of ruin. The men and women, old and young people crouded the temples, to return thanks to the immortal gods; and several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings.

Xanthippus,

Xanthippus, who had contributed so much to this happy change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after, from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unfulfilled, might, after this first glare of it, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, which are very dangerous, but most in a foreign country, when a man stands alone, unsupported by friends, relations, or any other succour.

Polybius tells us, that Xanthippus's departure was related in a different manner, and he promises to take notice of it in another place: but that part of his history has not come down to us. We read in (o) Appian, the Carthaginians, excited by a mean and detestable jealousy of Xanthippus's glory, and unable to bear the thoughts that they should stand indebted to Sparta for their safety; upon pretence of conducting him, and his attendants, back with honour to his own country, with a numerous convoy of ships; they gave private orders to have them all put to death in their passage; as if with him they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his services, and their horrid ingratitude to him*.

This battle, says (p) Polybius, though not so considerable as many others, may yet furnish very salutary instructions; which, adds that author, is the greatest benefit that can be reaped from the study of history.

First, should any man put a great confidence in present happiness, after he has considered the fate of Regulus? That

(o) De Bell. Pun. p. 30.

(p) Lib i. p. 36, 37.

* This perfidious action, as it is related by Appian, may possibly be true, when we consider the character of the Carthaginians; who were certainly a cruel and treacherous people. But, if it be fact, one would wonder why Polybius should reserve for another occasion, the relation of an incident, which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the character and life of Xanthippus. His silence therefore in this place makes me think, that he intended to bring Xanthippus again upon the

stage; and to exhibit him to the reader in a different light from that in which he is placed by Appian. To this let me add, that it shewed no great depth of policy in the Carthaginians, to take this method of dispatching him, when so many others offered, which were less liable to censure. In this scheme formed for his destruction, not only himself, but all his followers, were to be murdered, without the pretence of even a storm, or loss of one single Carthaginian, to cover or excuse the perpetration of so horrid a crime.

That general, insolent with victory, inexorable to the conquered, and deaf to all their remonstrances, saw himself a few days after vanquished by them, and made their prisoner. Hannibal offered the same reflection to Scipio, when he exhorted him not to be dazzled with the success of his arms. Regulus, said he, would have been recorded amongst the few instances of valour and felicity, had he, after the victory obtained in this very country, granted our fathers the peace which they sued for. But putting no bounds to his ambition and the insolence of success, the greater his prosperity, the more ignominious was his fall *.

In the second place, the truth of the saying of Euripides is here seen in its full extent, *That one wise head is worth a great many hands* †. A single man here changes the whole face of affairs. On one hand, he defeats troops which were thought invincible; on the other, he revives the courage of a city and an army, that was seized with astonishment and despair.

Such, as Polybius observes, is the use which ought to be made of the study of history. For there being two ways of acquiring improvement and instruction, first by one's own experience, and secondly by that of other men, it is much more wise and useful to improve by other mens miscarriages than by our own.

I return to Regulus, that I may here finish what relates

* Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris. Sed non statuendo tandem felicitati modum, nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo sedius corruit. *Liv.* l. xxx. n. 30.

† 'Ὡς ἐν σοφὸν βέλεμμα τὰς πικρὰς χεῖρας καὶ. *It may not be improper to take notice in this place (as it was forgot before) of a mistake of the learned Casaubon, in his translation of a passage of Polybius concerning Xanthippus. The passage*

is this, 'Εν οἷς καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμόνιον ἀνδρὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετεχηκέντα, καὶ τριχὺν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα σὺμμετρον. Which is thus rendered by Casaubon: In quibus [militibus sc. Græcia allatis] Xanthippus quidam fuit Lacedæmonius, vir disciplina Læonica imbutus, & qui rei militaris usum mediocrem habebat. Whereas, agreeably with the whole character and conduct of Xanthippus, I take the sense of this passage to be, a man formed by the Spartan discipline, and proportionably [not moderately] skilful in military affairs.

lates to him; Polybius, to our great disappointment, taking no farther notice of that general*.

(q) After being kept some years in prison, he was sent to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners. He had been obliged to take an oath, that he would return in case he proved unsuccessful. He then acquainted the senate with the subject of his voyage; and being invited by them to give his opinion freely, he answered, that he could no longer do it as a senator, having lost both this quality, and that of a Roman citizen, from the time that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies; but he did not

(q) A. M. 3755. A. Rom. 499. Appian. de Bello Pun. p. 2, 3. Cic. de Off. l. iii. n. 99, 100. Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 4. Seneca. Ep. 99.

* This silence of Polybius, has prejudiced a great many learned men against many of the stories told of Regulus's barbarous treatment, after he was taken by the Carthaginians. Mr. Rollin speaks no further of this matter, and therefore I shall give my reader the substance of what is brought against the general belief of the Roman writers (as well historians as poets) and of Appian on this subject. First it is urged, that Polybius was very sensible that the story of these cruelties was false; and therefore, that he might not disoblige the Romans, by contradicting so general a belief, he chose rather to be silent on Regulus after he was taken prisoner, than to violate the truth of history, of which he was so strict an observer. This opinion is further strengthened (say the adversaries of this belief) by a fragment of Diodorus, which says, that the wife of Regulus, exasperated at the death of her husband in Carthage, occasioned, as she imagined, by barbarous usage, persuaded her sons to revenge the fate of their father, by the cruel treatment of two Carthaginian captives (thought to be Bostar and Hamilcar taken in the sea fight against Sicily, after the misfortune of Regu-

lus,) and put into her hands for the redemption of her husband. One of these died by the severity of his imprisonment; and the other, by the care of the senate, who detested the cruelty, survived and was recovered to health. This treatment of the captives, and the resentment of the senate on that account, found a third argument or presumption against the truth of this story of Regulus, which is thus urged. Regulus dying in his captivity by the usual course of nature, his wife, thus frustrated of her hopes of the redeeming him by exchange of her captives, treated them with the utmost barbarity, in consequence of her belief of the ill usage which Regulus had received. The senate being angry with her for it, to give some colour to her cruelties, she gave out among her acquaintance and kindred, that her husband died in the way generally related. This, like all other reports, increased gradually; and from the national hatred betwixt the Carthaginians and Romans, was easily and generally believed by the latter. How far this is conclusive against the testimonies of two such weighty authors as Cicero and Seneca (to say nothing of the poets) is left to the judgment of the reader.

not refuse to offer his thoughts as a private person. This was a very delicate affair. Every one was touched with the misfortunes of so great a man. He needed only, says Cicero, have spoke one word, and it would have restored him to his liberty, his estate, his dignity, his wife, his children, and his country; but that word appeared to him contrary to the honour and the welfare of the state. He therefore plainly declared, that an exchange of prisoners ought not to be so much as thought of: that such an example would be of fatal consequence to the republic: that citizens, who had so basely surrendered their arms and persons to the enemy, were unworthy of the least compassion, and rendered incapable of serving their country: that with regard to himself, as he was so far advanced in years, his death ought to be considered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands several Carthaginian generals, in the flower of their age, and capable of doing their country great services for many years. It was with difficulty that the senate complied with so generous and unexampled a counsel. (r) The illustrious exile therefore left Rome, in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep affliction of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, although he knew but too well the grievous torments which were prepared for him. And indeed, the moment his enemies saw him returned, without having obtained the exchange of prisoners, they put him to every kind of torture their barbarous cruelty could invent. They imprisoned him for a long time in a dismal dungeon, whence (after cutting off his eye-lids) they drew him at once into the sun, when its beams darted the strongest heat. They next put him into a kind of chest stuck full of nails, whose points wounding him, did not allow him a moment's ease either day or night. Lastly, after having been long tormented by being kept for ever awake in this dreadful torture, his merciless enemies nailed him to a cross, their usual punishment, and left him to expire on it. Such was the end of this great man. His enemies, by depriving him of
some

(r) Horat. l. iii. Od. 3.

some days, perhaps years of life, brought eternal infamy on themselves.

(s) The blow which the Romans had received in Africa did not discourage them. They made greater preparations than before, to recover their loss; and put to sea, the following campaign, three hundred and sixty vessels. The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with two hundred; but were beat in an engagement fought on the coast of Sicily, and an hundred and fourteen of their ships were taken by the Romans. These sailed into Africa to take in the few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy, after the defeat of Regulus; and had defended themselves vigorously in * Clupea, where they had been unsuccessfully besieged.

Here we are again astonished that the Romans, after so considerable a victory, and with so large a fleet, should sail into Africa, only to bring from thence a small garrison; whereas, they might have attempted the conquest of it, since Regulus, with much fewer forces, had almost completed it.

(t) The Romans were overtaken by a storm in their return, which almost destroyed their whole fleet. (u) The like misfortune befell them also the following year. However, they consoled themselves for this double loss, by a victory which they gained over Asdrubal, from whom they took near an hundred and forty elephants. This news being brought to Rome, it filled the whole city with joy, not only because the strength of the enemy's army was considerably diminished by the loss of their elephants; but chiefly because this victory had inspired the land forces with fresh courage; which from the defeat of Regulus, had not dared to venture upon an engagement; so great was the terror with which those formidable animals had filled the minds of all the soldiers. It was therefore judged proper to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finish, if possible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two consuls set sail with a fleet of two hundred ships, and arriving in Sicily, formed the

(s) Polyb. l. viii. p. 37.
) Rag. 41, 42.

* Or *Clypea*.

(t) Ibid. l. viii. p. 38—40.

the bold design of besieging Lilybæum. This was the strongest town which the Carthaginians possessed in that island; and the loss of it would be attended with that of every part of it, and open to the Romans a free passage into Africa.

(x) The reader will suppose, that the utmost ardour was shewn, both in the assault and defence of the place. Imilcon was governor there, with ten thousand regular forces, exclusive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, soon brought him as many more from Carthage; he having, with the most intrepid courage, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and arrived happily in the port. The Romans had not lost any time. Having brought forward their engines, they beat down several towers with their battering rams; and gaining ground daily, they made such progress, as gave the besieged, who were now closely pressed, some fears. The governor saw plainly that there was no other way left to save the city, but by firing the engines of the besiegers. Having therefore prepared his forces for this enterprize, he sent them out at day-break with torches in their hands, tow, and all kinds of combustible matters; and at the same time attacked all the engines. The Romans strove with unparalleled bravery, to repel them, and the engagement was very bloody. Every man, assailant as well as defendant, stood to his post, and chose to die rather than quit it. At last, after a long resistance, and dreadful slaughter, the besieged founded a retreat, and left the Romans in possession of their works. This scene being over, Hannibal, embarking in the night, and concealing his departure from the enemy, sailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. Drepanum was advantageously situated; having a commodious port, and lying about an hundred and twenty furlongs from Lilybæum; and was of so much consequence to the Carthaginians, that they had been always very desirous of preserving it.

The Romans, animated by their late success, renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever; the besieged not
daring.

daring to venture a second time to burn their machines, because of the ill success they had met in their first attempt. But a furious wind rising suddenly, some mercenary soldiers represented to the governor, that now was the favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the besiegers, especially as the wind blew against them; and they offered themselves for the enterprise. The offer was accepted, and accordingly they were furnished with every thing necessary. In a moment the fire caught all the engines; and the Romans could not possibly extinguish it, because the flames being instantly spread every where, the wind carried the sparks and smoke full in their eyes, so that they could not see where to apply relief, whereas their enemies saw clearly where to aim their strokes, and throw their fire. This accident made the Romans lose all hopes of being ever able to carry the place by force. They therefore turned the siege into a blockade; raised a line of contravallation round the town; and dispersing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, resolved to effect, by time, what they found themselves absolutely unable to perform any other way.

(y) When the transactions of the siege of Lilybæum, and the loss of part of the forces were known at Rome, the citizens, so far from desponding at this ill news, seemed to be fired with new vigour. Every man strove to be foremost in the muster-roll; so that in a very little time, an army of ten thousand men was raised, who, crossing the strait, marched by land to join the besiegers.

(z) At the same time, P. Claudius Pulcher, the consul, formed a design of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum. He thought himself sure of surprising him, because, after the loss lately sustained by the Romans at Lilybæum, the enemy could not imagine they would venture out again at sea. Flushed with these hopes, he sailed out with his fleet in the night, the better to conceal his design. But he had to do with an active general, whose

vigilance

(y) Polyb. p. 50.

(z) A. M. 3756. A. Rom. 500. Ibid. p. 51.

vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of-battle, but fell vigorously upon him whilst his fleet was in disorder and confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman fleet, only thirty vessels got off, which being in company with the consul, fled with him, and got away in the best manner they could along the coast. All the rest, amounting to fourscore and thirteen, with the men on board them, were taken by the Carthaginians; a few soldiers excepted, who had escaped from the shipwreck of their vessels. This victory displayed as much the prudence and valour of Adherbal, as it reflected shame and ignominy on the Roman consul.

(a) Junius, his colleague, was neither more prudent nor more fortunate than himself, but lost almost his whole fleet by his ill conduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some considerable action, he held a secret intelligence with the inhabitants of Eryx *, and by that means got the city surrendered to him. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Erycina, which was certainly the most beautiful as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the road that led to it was very long, and of difficult access. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he now had nothing to fear; but Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, farther of the famous Hannibal, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps of the enemy and there fortified himself. From this advantageous post, he harassed the Romans incessantly for two years. One can scarce conceive how it was possible for the Carthaginians to defend themselves, when thus attacked from both the summit and the foot of the mountain; and unable to get provisions, but from a little port, which was the only one open to them. By such enterprises as these, the abilities and prudent courage of a general

(a) Polyb. l. i. p. 54—59.

* A city and mountain of Sicily.

general, are as well, or perhaps better discovered, than by the winning of a battle.

(b) For five years, nothing memorable was performed on either side. The Romans were once of opinion, that their land-forces would alone be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybæum: but the war being protracted beyond their expectation, they returned to their first plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The publick treasury was at a low ebb; but this want was supplied by private purses, so ardent was the love which the Romans bore their country. Every man, according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expence; and, upon publick security, advanced money, without the least scruple, for an expedition on which the glory and safety of Rome depended. One man fitted out a ship at his own charge; another was equipped by the contributions of two or three; so that, in a very little time, two hundred were ready for sailing. (c) The command was given to Lutatius the consul, who immediately put to sea. The enemies fleet had retired into Africa, by which means the consul easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, and foreseeing that he should soon be forced to fight, he did all that lay in his power, to assure himself of success; and employed the interval in exercising his soldiers and seamen at sea.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near, under the command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called Hiera, opposite to Drepanum. His design was to reach Eryx undiscovered by the Romans, in order to supply the army there; and to re-inforce his troops, and take Barcha on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul, suspecting his intention, was beforehand with him; and having assembled all his best forces, sailed for the small island * *Ægusa*, which lay near the other. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the

tomorrow.

(b) Polyb. l. i. p. 59—62.

(c) A. M. 3763. A. Rom. 507.

* They are now called *Ægates*.

morrow. Accordingly, at day break, he put all things in readiness, when unfortunately the wind was favourable to the enemy, which made him hesitate whether he should give them battle. But considering that the Carthaginian fleet, when unloaded of its provisions, would become lighter and more fit for action; and, besides, would be considerably strengthened by the forces and presence of Barcha, he came to a resolution at once, and notwithstanding the foul weather, made directly to the enemy. The consul had choice forces, able seamen, and excellent ships, built after the model of a galley that had been lately taken from the enemy; and which was the compleatest in its kind, that had ever been seen. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, were destitute of all these advantages. As they had been the entire masters at sea for some years, and the Romans did not once dare to face them, they had them in the highest contempt, and looked upon themselves as invincible. On the first report of the motion of the enemy, the Carthaginians had put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, as appeared from every circumstance of it: the soldiers and seamen being all mercenaries, newly levied, without the least experience, resolution, or zeal, since it was not for their own country they were going to fight. This soon appeared in the engagement. They could not sustain the first attack. Fifty of their vessels were sunk, and seventy taken with their whole crews. The rest, favoured by a wind which rose very seasonably for them, made the best of their way to the little island from whence they sailed. There were upwards of ten thousand taken prisoners. The consul sailed immediately for Lilybæum, and joined his forces to those of the besiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occasioned so much the greater surprise and terror, as it was less expected. The senate however did not lose their courage, though they saw themselves quite unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was impossible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions, or re-inforcements to the armies

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in Sicily. An express was therefore immediately dispatched to Barcha, the general there, empowering him to act as he should think proper. Barcha, so long as he had room to entertain the least hopes, had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage and the most consummate wisdom. But having now no resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul, in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, says Polybius, consists in knowing how to resist and yield at a seasonable juncture. Lutatius was not insensible how tired the Romans were grown of a war, which had exhausted them both of men and money; and the dreadful consequences which attended on Regulus's inexorable and imprudent obstinacy were fresh in their memories. He therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:

THERE SHALL BE PLACE BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE (IN CASE THE ROMAN PEOPLE APPROVE OF IT) ON THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS: THE CARTHAGINIANS SHALL EVACUATE ENTIRELY ALL SICILY; SHALL NO LONGER MAKE WAR UPON HIERO, THE SYRACUSANS, OR THEIR ALLIES: THEY SHALL RESTORE TO THE ROMANS, WITHOUT RANSOM, ALL THE PRISONERS WHICH THEY HAVE TAKEN FROM THEM; AND PAY THEM, WITHIN TWENTY YEARS, * TWO THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED EUBOIC TALENTS OF SILVER †. It is worth the reader's remarking by the way, the exact and clear terms in which this treaty is expressed; that in so short a compass, adjusts the interests both by sea and land, of two powerful republicks and their allies.

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people, not approving of them, sent ten commissioners to Sicily, to terminate the affair (d). These made no alteration as to the substance of the treaty; only shortening the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years: A thousand talents were added to the sum that had
been

(d) Polyb. l. iii. p. 182.

* This sum amounts to near six thousand French livres.
millions one hundred and eighty † 515,000l. English money.

been stipulated, which was to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart out of all the islands, situated between Italy and Sicily. Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty, but they gave it up, some years after, by a treaty.

(e) Such was the conclusion of this war, the longest mentioned in history, since it continued twenty-four years without intermission. The obstinacy, in disputing for empire, was equal on either side: the same resolution, the same greatness of soul, in forming as well as in executing of projects, being conspicuous on both sides. The Carthaginians had the superiority over them with regard to experience in naval affairs; in the strength and swiftness of their vessels; the working of them; the skill and capacity of their pilots; the knowledge of coasts, shallows, roads, and winds; and in the inexhaustible fund of wealth, which furnished all the expences of so long and obstinate a war. The Romans had none of these advantages; but their courage, zeal for the publick good, love of their country, and a noble emulation of glory, supplied all of them. We are astonished to see a nation, so raw and inexperienced in naval affairs, not only disputing the sea with a people, who were best skilled in them, and more powerful than any that had ever been before, but even gaining several victories over them at sea. No difficulties or calamities could discourage them. They certainly would not have thought of peace, in the circumstances in which the Carthaginians demanded it. One unfortunate campaign despirits the latter; whereas the Romans are not shaken by a succession of them.

As to soldiers, though there was no comparison between these of Rome and Carthage, the former being infinitely superior in point of courage; among the generals who commanded in this war, Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was doubtless the most conspicuous for his bravery and prudence.

(e) A. M. 3736. A. Carth. 605. A. Rom. 507. Ant. J. C. 241.

The LIBYAN war; or against the MERCENARIES.

(f) The war which the Carthaginians waged against the Romans, was * succeeded immediately by another, the very same year, which, though of much shorter continuance, was infinitely more dangerous; as it was carried on in the very heart of the republick, and attended with such cruelty and barbarity, as is scarce to be paralleled in history; I mean the war which the Carthaginians were obliged to sustain against their mercenary troops, who had served under them in Sicily, and commonly called the African or Libyan war †. It continued only three years and a half, but was a very bloody one. The occasion of it was this:

(g) As soon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans, Hamilcar, having carried to Lilybæum the forces which were in Eryx, resigned his commission; and left to Gisgo, governor of the place, the care of transporting these forces into Africa. Gisgo, as though he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them all off at once, but in small and separate parties; in order that those who came first might be paid off, and sent home, before the arrival of the rest. This conduct showed great forecast and wisdom, but was not seconded equally at Carthage. As the republick was drained by the expence of a long war, and the paying near three millions to the Romans on signing the peace, the forces were not paid off in proportion as they arrived; but it was thought proper to wait for the rest, in the hopes of obtaining from them (when they should be all together) a remission of some part of their arrears. This was the first oversight.

Here the genius of a state composed of merchants discovers itself, who know the full value of money, but not the merit of soldiers; who made a traffick of their blood,

as

(f) Polyb. l. i. p. 65—89.

(g) Ibid, p. 66.

* The same year that the first Punic war ended.

† And sometimes *Ξενικον*, or the war with the mercenaries.

as though they were gods, and always go to the cheapest market. In such a republick, when an exigency is once answered, the merit of services is no longer remembered.

These soldiers, most of whom came to Carthage, being long accustomed to a licentious life, caused great disturbances in the city; to remedy which, it was proposed to their officers, to march them all to a little neighbouring town called Sicca, and there supply them with whatever was necessary for their subsistence, till the arrival of the rest of their companions, and that then they should all be paid off, and sent home. This was a second oversight.

A third was, the refusing to let them leave their baggage, their wives, and children in Carthage, as they desired; and the forcing them to remove these to Sicca, whereas, had they staid in Carthage, they would have been in a manner so many hostages.

Being all met together at Sicca, they began (having little else to do) to compute the arrears of their pay, which they made much more than was really due to them. To this computation, they added the mighty promises which had been made them, at different times, as an encouragement for them to do their duty; and pretended that these likewise ought to be placed to account. Hanno, who was then governor of Africa, and had been sent to them from the magistrates of Carthage, proposed to these soldiers some remission of their arrears; and desired that they would content themselves with receiving a part, because of the great distress to which the commonwealth was reduced, and its present unhappy circumstances. The reader will easily guess how such a proposal was received. Complaints, murmurs, seditious and insolent clamours were every where heard. These troops being composed of different nations, who were strangers to one another's language, were incapable of hearing reason, when they once mutinied. Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians; inhabitants of the Balearian isles; Greeks, the greatest part of them slaves or deserters, and a very great number of Africans, composed these merce-

nary forces. But now, transported with rage, they immediately break up, march towards Carthage (being upwards of twenty thousand) and encamp at Tunis, not far from that metropolis.

The Carthaginians discovered too late their error. There was no compliance, how grovelling soever, to which they did not stoop, to sooth these exasperated soldiers; who, on their side practised every knavish art which could be thought of, in order to extort money from them. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some new demand. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them, they still would be re-imburfed for the losses which they pretended to have sustained, either by the death of horses; by the excessive price which at certain times they had paid for bread-corn; and still insisted on the recompence which had been promised them. As nothing could be fixed, the Carthaginians, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to refer themselves to the opinion of some general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly they pitched upon Gisgo, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner; recalled to their memories the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service; the considerable sums they had received from the republick; and granted almost all their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. One of those was Spendius a Capuan, who had been a slave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was a tall, lusty, and extremely bold fellow. The fear he was under of falling into the hands of his old master, by whom he was sure to be hanged (as was the custom) prompted him to break off the accommodation. He was seconded by one Matho*, who had been very active

* Matho was an African, and free born; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, an accommodation would have ruined him. He therefore, despairing of a pardon, embraced the interest of Spendius with more

active in forming the conspiracy. These two represented to the Africans, that the instant after their companions should be discharged and sent home, they, being thus left alone in their own country, would fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This was sufficient to raise them to fury. They immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their chiefs. No remonstrances were heard; and whoever offered to make any, was immediately put to death. They ran to Gisgo's tent, plundered it of the money designed for the payment of the forces; dragged even that general himself to prison, with all his attendants; after having treated them with the utmost indignities. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had sent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty came over to them, Utica and Hippacra excepted, which they therefore besieged.

Carthage had never been before exposed to such imminent danger. The citizens of it, to a man, drew their particular subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the publick expences from the tribute paid from Africa. But all this was stopped at once; and a much worse circumstance was turned against them. They found themselves destitute of arms and forces either for sea or land; of all necessary preparations either for the sustaining of a siege or the equipping of a fleet; and, to complete their misfortunes, without any hopes of foreign assistance, either from their friends or allies.

They might in some sense accuse themselves for the distress to which they were reduced. During the last war, they had treated the African nations with the utmost rigour, by imposing excessive tributes on them, in the exaction of which, no allowance was made for poverty and extreme misery; and governors such as Hanno, were treated with the greater respect, the more severe they had been in levying those tributes. So that these Africans were easily

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more zeal than any of the rebels; and first insinuated to the Africans, the danger of concluding a peace, as this

would leave them alone, and exposed to the rage of their old masters. Polyb. p. 98. Edit. Gronov.

prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragging to prison for non-payment, were more exasperated than the men; and with pleasure gave up all their ornaments towards the expences of the war; so that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promised the soldiers, found themselves still in the midst of plenty. An instructive lesson, says Polybius, to ministers; as it teaches them to look, not only to the present occasion, but to extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their present distress, did not despond, but made the most extraordinary efforts for their defence. The command of the army was given to Hanno. Troops were levied by land and sea; horse as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered; mercenaries were invited from all parts; and all the ships which the republick had left were refitted.

The rebels discovered no less ardour. We related before, that they had besieged two cities which refused to join them. Their army was now increased to seventy thousand men. After detachments had been drawn from it to carry on those sieges, they pitched their camp at Tunis, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade; filling it with perpetual alarms, and advancing up to its very walls by day as well as by night.

Hanno had marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a considerable advantage, which, had he made a proper use of, might have proved decisive: But entering the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenaries, who were posted on a neighbouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them; found the soldiers every where off their duty; took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the provisions, &c. brought from Carthage to succour the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; and errors, on such occasions, are much the most fatal. Hamilcar, furnished

surnamed Barcha, was therefore appointed to succeed him. This general answered the idea which had been entertained of him: and his first success was the obliging the rebels to raise the siege of Utica. He then marching against their army which was incamped near Carthage, defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts. These successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

The arrival of a young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who, out of his esteem for the person and merit of Barcha, joined him with two thousand Numidians. was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels, who had inclosed him in a valley; killed ten thousand of them, and took four thousand prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in this battle. Barcha took into his troops, as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being enlisted, and gave the rest free liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should never take up arms any more against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every man of them who was taken, should be put to death. This conduct proves the wisdom of that general. He thought this a better expedient than extreme severity. And indeed where a multitude of mutineers are concerned, the greatest part of whom were drawn in by the persuasions of the most hot-headed, or through fear of the most furious, clemency seldom fails of being successful.

Spendius, the chief of the rebels, fearing that this affected lenity of Barcha might occasion a defection among his troops, thought the only expedient left him to prevent it, would be, to put them upon some signal action, in order to deprive them of all hopes of being ever reconciled to the enemy. With this view, after having read to them some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him, of a secret design concerted betwixt some of their comrades and Gisgo, for the rescuing him out of prison, where he had been so long detained; he brought them to the barbarous resolution of murdering him and all the rest of the prisoners; and any man, who durst offer any milder

counsel, was immediately sacrificed to their fury. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and seven hundred prisoners, who were confined with him, were brought out to the head of the camp, where Gisco fell the first sacrifice, and afterwards all the rest. Their hands were cut off, their thighs broke, and their bodies, still breathing, were thrown into a hole. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their remains, in order to pay them the last sad office, but were refused; and the herald was further told, that who ever presumed to come upon the like errand should meet with Gisco's fate. And, indeed, the rebels immediately came to this unanimous resolution, *viz.* to treat all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and decreed further, that if any of their allies were taken; they should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage. This bloody resolution was but too punctually executed.

The Carthaginians were just now beginning to breathe, as it were, and recover their spirits, when a number of unlucky accidents plunged them again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals; and the provisions, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea, were all cast away in a storm. But their most grievous misfortune was, the sudden defection of the two only cities, which till then had preserved their allegiance, and in all times adhered inviolably to the commonwealth. These were Utica and Hippacra. These cities, without the least reason, or even so much as a pretence, went over at once to the rebels; and, transported with the like rage and fury, murdered the governor, with the garrison sent to their relief; and carried their inhumanity so far, as to refuse their dead bodies to the Carthaginians, who demanded them back in order for burial.

The rebels, animated by so much success, laid siege to Carthage, but were obliged immediately to raise it. They nevertheless continued the war. Having drawn together, into one body, all their own troops and those of the allies (making upwards of fifty thousand men in all) they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but carefully
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kept their own on the hills; and avoided coming down into the plains, because the enemy would there have been so much superior to them, on account of their elephants and horses. Hamilcar more skilful in the art of war than they, never exposed himself to any of their attacks; but taking advantage of their oversights, often dispossessed them of their posts, if their soldiers straggled but ever so little; and harassed them a thousand ways. Such of them as fell into his hands, were thrown to wild beasts. At last, he surprised them at a time when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to get out of it. Not daring to venture a battle, and being unable to get off, they began to fortify their camp, and surrounded it with ditches and entrenchments. But an enemy within themselves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greatest extremity: this was hunger, which was so raging, that they at last eat one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus revenging upon themselves the barbarous cruelty they had exercised on others. They now had no resource left, and knew but too well the punishments which would be inflicted on them, in case they should fall alive into the hands of the enemy. After such bloody scenes as had been acted by them, they did not so much as think of peace, or of coming to an accommodation. They had sent to their forces encamped at Tunis for assistance, but with no success. In the mean time the famine increased daily. They had first eat their prisoners, then their slaves; and now their fellow-citizens only were left to be devoured. Their chiefs, now no longer able to resist the complaints and cries of the multitude, who threatened to cut all their throats, if they did not surrender, went themselves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a safe conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty, were, that the Carthaginians should select any ten of the rebels to treat them as they should think fit, and that the rest should be dismissed with only one suit of clothes for each. When the treaty was signed, the chiefs themselves were arrested, and detained by the Carthaginians,

ans, who plainly showed, on this occasion, that they were not over-scrupulous in the point of honesty. The rebels, hearing that their chiefs were seized, and knowing nothing of the invention, suspected that they were betrayed, and thereupon immediately took up arms. But Hamilcar, having surrounded them, brought forward his elephants; and either trod them all under foot, or cut them to pieces, they being upwards of forty thousand.

The consequence of this victory was, the reduction of almost all the cities of Africa, which immediately returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loss of time, marched against Tunis, which, ever since the beginning of the war, had been the asylum of the rebels, and their place of arms. He invested it on one side, whilst Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, besieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering crosses to be set up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions who had been seized with him on the rest, where they all expired, Matho, the other chief, who commanded in the city, saw plainly by this what he himself might expect; and for that reason was much more attentive to his own defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, as being confident of success, was very negligent in all things, he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments; and sacrificed round the body of Spendius thirty citizens of the first quality in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance. One would conclude, that there had been a mutual emulation betwixt the contending parties, which of them should out-do the other in acts of the most barbarous cruelty.

Barcha being at such a distance from his colleague, it was some time before his misfortune reached him; and besides, the road lying betwixt the two camps being impracticable, it was impossible for him to advance hastily to his assistance. This unlucky accident caused a great consternation in Carthage. The reader may have observed,

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in the course of this war, a continual vicissitude of prosperity and adversity, of security and fear, of joy and grief; so various and inconstant were the events on either side.

In Carthage it was thought adviseable to make one bold push for all. Accordingly all the youth capable of bearing arms, were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar; and thirty senators were deputed to conjure those generals, in the name of the republick, to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentments to their country's welfare. This was immediately complied with; they mutually embraced, and were reconciled sincerely to one another.

From this time, the Carthaginians were successful in all things; and Matho, who, in every attempt after this came off with disadvantage, at last thought himself obliged to hazard a battle; and this was just what the Carthaginians wanted. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to fight a battle, which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement immediately ensued. Victory was not long in suspense; for the rebels every where giving ground, the Africans were almost all slain, and the rest surrendered. Matho was taken alive, and carried to Carthage. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two perfidious cities which had lately revolted; however, they were soon forced to surrender at discretion.

And now the victorious army returned to Carthage, and was there received with shouts of joy, and the congratulations of the whole city. Matho and his soldiers, after having adorned the publick triumph, were led to execution; and finished by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackest treasons, and unparalleled barbarities. Such was the conclusion of the war against the mercenaries, after having lasted three years and four months. It furnished, says Polybius, an ever-memorable lesson to all nations, not to employ, in their armies, a greater number of mercenaries than citizens; nor to rely, for the defence of their state, on a body of men who are not attached to it, either by interest or affection.

I hitherto purposely deferred taking notice of such transactions in Sardinia, as passed at the time I have been speaking of, and which were, in some measure, dependent on, and consequential of the war waged in Africa against the mercenaries. They exhibit the same violent methods to promote rebellion, the same excesses of cruelty ; as if the wind had carried the same spirit of discord and fury from Africa into Sardinia.

When the news was brought there, of what Spendius and Matho were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that island also shook off the yoke, in imitation of those incendiaries. They began by the murder of Bostar their general, and of all the Carthaginians under him. A successor was sent ; but all the forces which he carried with him, went over to the rebels ; hung the general on a cross ; and throughout the whole island, put all the Carthaginians to the sword, after having made them suffer inexpressible torments. They then besieged all the cities one after another, and soon got possession of the whole country. But feuds arising between them and the natives, the mercenaries were driven entirely out of the island, and took sanctuary in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians lost Sardinia, an island of great importance to them, on account of its extent, its fertility, and the great number of its inhabitants.

The Romans, ever since their treaty with the Carthaginians, had behaved towards them with great justice and moderation. A slight quarrel, on account of some Roman merchants who were seized at Carthage for their having supplied the enemy with provisions, had embroiled them a little. But their merchants being restored on the first complaint made to the senate of Carthage, the Romans, who loved to display their justice and generosity on all occasions, made the Carthaginians a return for their ancient friendship ; served them to the utmost of their power ; forbade their merchants to furnish any other nation with provisions ; and even refused to listen to the proposals made by the Sardinian rebels, when invited by them to take possession of the island.

But

But these scruples and delicacy wore off by degrees; and Cæsar's advantageous testimony (in Sallust) of their honesty and plain dealing, could not, with any propriety, be applied here *: "Although, says he, in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never (how inviting so ever the opportunity might be) be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage; they being more attentive to their own glory, than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies."

(b) The mercenaries, who, as was observed, had retired into Italy, brought the Romans at last to the resolution of sailing over into Sardinia, to render themselves masters of it. The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at the news; upon pretence that they had a more just title to Sardinia than the Romans; they therefore put themselves in a posture, to take a speedy and just revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. But the Romans pretending that these preparations were made, not against Sardinia but their state, declared war against the Carthaginians. The latter, quite exhausted in every respect, and scarce beginning to breathe, were in no condition to sustain a war. The necessity of the times was therefore to be complied with, and they were forced to yield to a more powerful rival. A fresh treaty was thereupon made, by which they gave up Sardinia to the Romans; and obliged themselves to a new payment of twelve hundred talents, to keep off the war with which they were menaced. This injustice of the Romans was the true cause of the second Punic war, as will appear in the sequel.

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(b) A. M. 3767. A. Carth. 609. A. Rom. 511. Ant. J. C. C. 237.

* *Bellis Punicis omnibus, cum sapæ Carthaginienses & in pace & per inducias multa nefanda facinora recissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis quod se dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant. Sallust. in bell. Catalin.*

The second PUNIC WAR.

(i) The second Punic war, which I am now going to relate, is one of the most memorable recorded in history, and most worthy the attention of an inquisitive reader; whether we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the wisdom employed in the execution; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in their lowest ebb of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, and the uncertain issue of so long and bloody a war; or lastly, the assemblage of the most perfect models in every kind of merit; and the most instructive lessons that occur in history, either with regard to war, policy, or government. Never did two more powerful, or at least more warlike states or nations make war against each other, and never had these in question seen themselves raised to a more exalted pitch of power and glory. Rome and Carthage were, doubtless, the two first states of the world. Having already tried their strength the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this second war, the fate of arms was so equally balanced, and the success so intermixed with vicissitudes and varieties, that that party triumphed which had been most exposed to ruin. Great as the forces of these two nations were, it may almost be said, that their mutual hatred was still greater. The Romans, on one side, could not with any patience see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the equally rapacious and mean treatment, which they pretended to have received from the victor.

The plan which I have laid down, does not permit me to enter into an exact detail of this war, whereof Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Africa, were the several seats; and which has still closer connection with the Roman history than with that I am now writing. I shall con-

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(i) Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

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fine myself therefore, principally, to such transactions as relate to the Carthaginians; and endeavour, as far as I am able, to give my reader an idea of the genius and character of Hannibal, who perhaps was the greatest warrior that antiquity has to boast of.

The remote and more immediate causes of the SECOND PUNIC war.

Before I come to speak of the declaration of war betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, I think necessary to lay down the true causes of it; and to point out by what steps this rupture, betwixt these two nations, was so long preparing, before it broke out into an open flame.

That man would be grossly mistaken, says Polybius, (k) who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the true cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians, for their having so tamely given up Sicily, by the treaty which terminated the first Punic war; the injustice and violence of the Romans, who took advantage, from the troubles excited in Africa, to dispossess the Carthaginians in Sardinia, and to impose a new tribute on them; and the success and conquests of the latter in Spain, were the true causes of the violation of the treaty, as Livy * (agreeing here with Polybius) insinuates in few words, in the beginning of his history of the second Punic war.

(l) And indeed Hamilcar, surnamed Barcha, was highly exasperated on account of the last treaty which the necessity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to submit to; and he therefore meditated the design of taking just, though distant measures, for breaking it the first favourable opportunity that should offer.

When

(k) Lib. iii. p. 162—168.

(l) Polyb. l. ii. p. 90.

* *Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: Nam & Sciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam; & Sardiniam inter*

motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam superimposito, interceptam. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

When the troubles of Africa were appeased, he was sent upon an expedition, against the Numidians; in which, giving fresh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raised him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain. (*m*) Hannibal his son, at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmost importunity to attend him on this occasion; and for that purpose employed all the soothing arts so common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a tender father. Hamilcar could not refuse him; and after having made him swear upon the altars, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans as soon as his age would allow him to do it, he took his son with him.

Hamilcar possessed all the qualities which constitute the great general. To an invincible courage, and the most consummate prudence, he added a most popular and insinuating behaviour. He subdued, in a very short time, the greatest part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms, or his engaging conduct; and after enjoying the command there nine years, came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying gloriously in arms for the cause of his country.

(*n*) The Carthaginians appointed Asdrubal, his son-in-law, to succeed him. This general, to secure the country, built a city, which by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbour, its fortifications, and flow of wealth through its great commerce, became one of the most considerable cities in the world. It is called New Carthage, and to this day is known by the name of Carthagena.

From the several steps of these two great generals, it was easy to perceive that they were meditating some mighty design, which they had always in view, and laid their schemes at a greater distance for the putting it in execution. The Romans were sensible of this, and reproached themselves for their indolence and sloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy; at a time that the

(*m*) Polyb. l. iii. p. 127. Liv. l. xxi. n. i.

(*n*) A. M. 3776. A. Rom. 520. Polyb. l. ii. p. 101.



HANNIBAL at nine Years of Age, Swearing
Enmity to the Romans.

Published 20 June 1749 by J. & P. Knapton.

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the enemy were rapidly pursuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They would have been very well pleased to attack them by open force, and to wrest their conquests out of their hands, but the fear of another (not less formidable) enemy, the Gauls, kept them from showing their resentments. They therefore had recourse to negotiations; and concluded a treaty with Asdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the rest of Spain, they contented themselves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not allowed to make any conquests beyond the Iberus.

(c) Asdrubal, in the mean time, still pushed on his conquests, but took care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty; and sparing no endeavours to win the chiefs of the several nations; by a courteous and engaging behaviour he brought them over to the interest of Carthage, more by persuasive methods than force of arms. But unhappily, after having governed Spain eight years, he was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, who took so barbarous a revenge for a private grudge he bore him*.

(p) Three years before his death, he had written to Carthage, to desire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him. The proposal met with some difficulty, as the senate was divided betwixt two powerful factions, which, from Hamilcar's time, had begun to follow opposite views, in the administration and affairs of the state. One faction was headed by Hanno, whose birth, merit, and zeal for the publick welfare, gave him great influence in publick deliberations.

This

(c) Polyb. l. ii. p. 123. Liv. l. xxi. n. 2.

(p) A. M. 3783. A. Rom. 530. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3, 4.

* This murder was an effect of the extraordinary fidelity of this Gaul, whose master had fallen by the hand of Asdrubal. It was perpetrated in publick; and the murderer being seized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed so strong a satisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge so successfully, that he seemed to insult all the terror of his torments. *Eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante letitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem præbuerit.* Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

This faction proposed, on every occasion, the concluding of a safe peace, and the preserving the conquests in Spain, as being preferable to the uncertain events of an expensive war, which the members of it foresaw would one day occasion the ruin of Carthage. The other, called the Barcinian faction, because it supported the interest of Barcha and his family, had, to its ancient merit and credit in the city, added the reputation which the signal exploits of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had given it; and declared openly for war. When therefore Asdrubal's demand came to be debated in the senate, Hanno represented the danger of sending so early into the field, a young man, who had all the haughtiness and imperious temper of his father; and who ought, therefore, rather to be kept a long time, and very carefully, under the eye of the magistrates, and the power of the laws, that he might learn obedience, and a modesty which should teach him not to think himself superior to all other men. He concluded with saying, that he feared this spark, which was then kindling, would one day rise to a conflagration. His remonstrances were not heard, so that the Barcinian faction had the superiority, and Hannibal set out for Spain.

The moment of his arrival there, he drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father survive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial vigour displayed itself in the air of his countenance, with the same features and engaging carriage. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He possessed almost every talent that constitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance was surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and, a still more wonderful circumstance, his disposition and cast of mind were so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; so that it was doubtful whether he was dearest to the soldiers or the generals. He served three campaigns under Asdrubal.

The

(g) The suffrages of both the army and people concurred to raise him to the supreme command, upon the death of Asdrubal. I know not whether it was not even then, or about that time, that the republick, to heighten his credit and authority, advanced him to the first dignity of the state, that is one of its Suffetes, which was sometimes conferred upon generals. It is from Cornelius Nepos (r) that we have borrowed this circumstance of his life, who, speaking of the prætorship bestowed on Hannibal, upon his return to Carthage, and the conclusion of the peace, says, that this was twenty-two years after he had been nominated king*.

The moment he was created general, Hannibal, as if Italy had been allotted to him, and he was even then appointed to make war upon the Romans, turned secretly his whole views on that side; and lost no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. In Spain he took several strong towns, and conquered many nations. Though the Spaniards had so much advantage over him with regard to the number of forces (their army amounting to upwards of an hundred thousand men) yet he chose his time and posts so happily, that he entirely defeated them. After this victory, every thing submitted to his arms. But he still forebore laying siege to Saguntum †, carefully avoiding every occasion of a rupture with the Romans, till he should be furnished with all things necessary for so important an enterprise, pursuant to the advice given him by his father. He applied himself particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by generously allotting them a large share of the plunder taken by the enemy, and by paying them all their

(g) A. M. 3784. A. Carth. 626. A. Rom. 528. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178.—179. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3—5. (r) In vit. Annib. c. 7.

* Hic ut rediit Prætor factus est. postquam rex fuerat anno secundo & vigesimo.

† This city lay on the Carthaginian side of the Iberus, very near the mouth of that river, and in a coun-

try where the Carthaginians were allowed to make war; but Saguntum, as an ally of the Romans was excepted from all hostilities, by virtue of the late treaty.

their arrears *: A wise step, which never fails of producing its advantage at a proper season.

(s) The Saguntins, on their side, sensible of the danger with which they were threatened, from the continued successes of Hannibal, advertised the Romans of them. Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and take a personal information upon the spot; they commanded them also to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it should be thought proper; and in case he should refuse to do justice, that then they should go directly to Carthage, and make the same complaints.

In the mean time Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, promising himself great advantages from the taking of this city. He was persuaded, that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying the war into Spain; that this new conquest would secure the old ones; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumstance which would render his march more secure and unmolested; that he should find money enough in it for the execution of his designs; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with great ardour, and make them follow him with great cheerfulness; that, lastly, the spoils which he should send to Carthage, would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by these motives, he carried on the siege with the utmost vigour. He himself set an example to his troops, was present at all the works, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

News was soon carried to Rome that Saguntum was besieged. But the Romans, instead of flying to its relief lost their time in fruitless debates, and equally insignificant deputations. Hannibal sent word to the Roman deputies, that he was not at leisure to hear them. They therefore repaired to Carthage, but with no better success, the Barcinian faction having prevailed over the complaint

(s) Polyb. l. iii. p. 170, 171. Liv. l. xxi. n. 6—15.

* Ibi large partiendo prædam, animos, in se firmavit. Liv. stipendia præterita cum fide exolvendo, cunctos civium sociorumque l. xxi. n. 5.

complaints of the Romans, and all the remonstrances of Hanno.

During these voyages and negotiations, the siege was carried on with great vigour. The Saguntins were now reduced to the last extremity, and in want of all things. An accommodation was thereupon proposed; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared so harsh, that the Saguntins could not so much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the publick treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards themselves. At the same time a tower which had been long assaulted by the battering rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the city by a breach, soon made themselves masters of it, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. But notwithstanding the fire, the Carthaginians got a very great booty. Hannibal did not reserve to himself any part of the spoils gained by his victories, but applied them solely to the carrying on his enterprises. Accordingly Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of service to him, as it awakened the ardour of his soldiers, by the sight of the rich booty which it had afforded, and by the hopes of more; and it reconciled all the principal persons of Carthage to Hannibal, by the large presents he made to them out of its spoils.

(1) Words could never express the grief and consternation with which the news of the taking, and the cruel fate of Saguntum, was received at Rome. Compassion for an unfortunate city, shame for their having failed to succour such faithful allies, a just indignation against the Carthaginians, the authors of all these calamities; the strong alarms raised by the successes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied they saw already at their gates; all these sentiments were so violent, that, during the first moments of them, the Romans were unable to come to any resolution; or do any thing, but give way to the torrent

(1) Polyb. p. 174, 175. Liv. l. xxi. c. 16, 17.

torrent of their passion, and sacrifice floods of tears to the memory of a city, which lay in ruins because of its inviolable fidelity * to the Romans, and had been betrayed by their unaccountable indolence and imprudent delays. When they were a little recovered, an assembly of the people was called, and war was decreed unanimously against the Carthaginians.

WAR proclaimed.

(u) That no ceremony might be wanting, deputies were sent to Carthage, to enquire whether Saguntum had been besieged by order of the republick, and if so, to declare war; or, in case this siege had been undertaken solely by the authority of Hannibal, to require, that he should be delivered up to the Romans. The deputies perceiving, that the senate gave no direct answer to their demands, one of them taking up the folded lappet of his robe, *I bring here*, says he, in a haughty tone, *either peace or war; the choice is left to yourselves*. The senate answering, that they left the choice to him: *I give you war then*, says he, unfolding his robe. *And we*, replied the Carthaginians, with the same haughtiness, *as heartily accept it, and are resolved to prosecute it with the same cheerfulness*. Such was the beginning of the second Punic war.

(x) If the cause of this war should be ascribed to the taking of Saguntum, the whole blame, says Polybius lies upon the Carthaginians, who could not, with any colourable pretence, besiege a city that was in alliance with Rome; and as such comprehended in the treaty, which forbade either party to make war upon the allies of the other. But, should the origin of this war be traced higher, and carried back to the time when the Carthaginians were dispossessed of Sardinia by the Romans,

(u) Polyb. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 18, 19. p. 184, 185.

(x) Polyb. l. iii.

* Sanctitate disciplinæ, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem quam coluerunt. Liv. l. xxi. n. 7.

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and a new tribute was so unreasonably imposed on them ; it must be confessed, continues Polybius, that the conduct of the Romans is entirely unjustifiable on these two points, as being founded merely on violence and injustice ; and that, had the Carthaginians, without having recourse to ambiguous and frivolous pretences, plainly demanded satisfaction upon these two grievances, and, upon their being refused it, had declared war against Rome, in that case reason and justice had been entirely on their side.

The interval between the conclusion of the first, and the beginning of the second Punic war, was twenty-four years.

The beginning of the second PUNIC WAR.

(v) When the war was resolved, and proclaimed on both sides, Hannibal, who then was twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, before he discovered his grand design, thought it incumbent on him to provide for the security of Spain and Africa. With this view, he marched the forces out of the one into the other, so that the Africans served in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a persuasion, that these soldiers, being thus at a distance from their respective countries, would be fitter for service ; and more firmly attached to him, as they would be a kind of hostages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about forty thousand men, twelve hundred whereof were horse : those of Spain were something above fifteen thousand, of which two thousand five hundred and fifty were horse. He left the command of the Spanish forces to his brother Asdrubal, with a fleet of about sixty ships to guard the coasts ; and at the same time gave him the wisest council for his conduct, whether with regard to the Spaniards or the Romans, in case they should attack him.

Livy, observes, that Hannibal, before he set forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to discharge his vows made

(v) A. M. 3787. A. Carth. 629. A. Rom. 531. Ant. J. C. 217.
Polyb. l. iii. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 21. 22.

made to Hercules; and that he engaged himself by new ones, in order to obtain success in the war he was entering upon, (z) Polybius gives us, in few words, a very clear idea of the distance of the several places through which Hannibal was to march, in his way to Italy. From New Carthage, whence he set out, to the Iberus, was computed two thousand two hundred (a) furlongs*. From the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separates Spain from the Gauls, according to (b) Strabo, was sixteen hundred furlongs (c). From the Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like space of sixteen hundred furlongs (d). From the pass of the Rhone, to the Alps, fourteen hundred furlongs (e). From the Alps, to the plains of Italy, twelve hundred furlongs (f). Thus from New Carthage, to the plains of Italy, were eight thousand furlongs (g).

(b) Hannibal had, long before, taken all the proper measures, to discover the nature and situation of the places through which he was to pass; to sound how the Gauls stood affected to the Romans; to win over their chiefs, whom he knew were very greedy of gold, by his bounty to them †; and to secure to himself the affection and fidelity of one part of the nations, through whose country his march lay. He was not ignorant, that the passage of the Alps would be attended with great difficulties, but he knew they were not unsurmountable, and that was enough for his purpose.

(i) Hannibal began his march early in the spring, from New Carthage, where he had wintered. His army then consisted of above an hundred thousand men, of which twelve

(z) Lib. iii. p. 192, 193. (a) 275 miles. (b) L. iii. p. 292.
 (c) 200 miles. (d) 200 miles. (e) 175 miles. (f) 150 miles.
 (g) 1000 miles. (h) Polyb. l. iii. p. 188, 189. (i) Idem.
 p. 189, 190. Liv. l. xxi. n. 22—24.

* Polybius makes the distance from New Carthage to be 2600 furlongs; consequently the whole number of furlongs will be 8400, or (allowing 625 feet to the furlong) 944 English miles, and almost one-third. See Polybius, Gronov. Edit. p. 267.

† Audierunt præoccupatos jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore. ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.

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twelve thousand were horse, and he had near forty elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march, and lost a considerable part of his army in this expedition. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with eleven thousand men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those who were to follow him. He dismissed the like number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affection when he should want recruits, and assuring the rest that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills, and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse; a formidable army, but less so from the number, than from the valour of the troops that composed it; troops who had served several years in Spain, and learnt the art of war, under the ablest captains that Carthage could ever boast.

PASSAGE of the RHONE.

(k) Hannibal being arrived within about four days march from the mouth of the Rhone *, attempted to cross it, because the river, in this place, took up only the breadth of its channel. He bought up all the ship-boats and little vessels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants had a great number, because of their commerce. He likewise built with great diligence, a prodigious number of boats, little vessels, and floats of timber. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the opposite bank, and prepared to dispute the passage. There was no possibility of his attacking them in front. He therefore ordered a considerable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to pass the river higher; and, in order to conceal his

(k) Polyb. l. iii. p. 270, 271, 272, 273, 274. Edit. Gronov. l. i. c. xxi. n. 26-28.

* *A little above Avignon.*

march, and the design he had in view, from the enemy, he obliged them to set out in the night. All things succeeded as he desired; and the river was passed * the next day without the least opposition.

They passed the rest of the day in refreshing themselves, and in the night they advanced silently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the signals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the passage. Part of his horses, completely harnessed, were put into boats, that their riders might, on their landing, immediately charge the enemy. The rest of the horses swam over on both sides of the boats, from which, one single man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry crossed the river, either on floats of timber, or in small boats, and in a kind of Gondolas, which were only the trunks of trees they themselves had made hollow. The great boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the passage to the rest of the small fleet. When the Gauls saw it advancing on the river, they, according to their custom, broke into dreadful cries and howlings; and clashing their bucklers over their heads, one against another, let fly a shower of darts. But they were prodigiously astonished, when they heard a great noise behind them, saw their tents on fire, and themselves attacked both in front and rear. They now had no way left but to save themselves by flight, and accordingly retreated to their respective villages. After this, the rest of the troops crossed the river quietly, and without any opposition.

The elephants were still behind, and occasioned a great deal of trouble. They were wasted over the next day in the following manner. From the bank of the river was thrown a float of timber, two hundred feet in length, and fifty in breadth; this was fixed strongly to the banks by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From this first float

* It is thought this was betwixt Roquemaure and Pont-St. L'Esprit.

float they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only one hundred feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first float, and the males followed after; and when they were got upon the second float, it was loosened from the first, and, by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. After this, it was sent back to fetch those which were behind. Some fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore, and not a single elephant was drowned.

The MARCH after the Battle of the Rhone.

(1) The two Roman consuls had, in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces; P. Scipio for Spain with sixty ships, two Roman legions, fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily, with an hundred and sixty ships, two legions, sixteen thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse of the allies. The Roman legion consisted, at that time, of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a sea-port town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident, that he should find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war. But he was greatly astonished, when, on his arrival at Marseilles, advice was brought him, that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached three hundred horse, to view the posture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horse for the same purpose; during which, some of his soldiers were employed in wasting over the elephants.

At the same time he gave audience, in presence of his whole army, to a Gaulish prince inhabiting near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his arrival was impatiently expected;

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that

(1) Polyb. l. iii. p. 200—202, &c. Liv. l. xxi. n. 31, 32.

that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march against the Romans; that he himself would conduct his army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech to his troops, magnified extremely this deputation from the Gauls; extolled, with just praises, the bravery which his forces had shewn hitherto; and exhorted them to sustain, to the last, their reputation and glory. The soldiers, inspired with fresh ardour and courage, declared, with lifted hands, their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead the way. Accordingly he appointed the next day for his march; and, after offering up vows, and making supplications to the gods for the safety of his troops, he dismissed them; desiring, at the same time, that they would take the necessary refreshments.

Whilst this was doing, the Numidians returned. They had met with, and charged, the Roman detachment; on which occasion the conflict was very obstinate, and the slaughter great, considering the small number of combatants. An hundred and sixty of the Romans were left dead upon the spot, and more than two hundred of the enemies. But the honour of this skirmish fell to the Romans; the Numidians having retired, and left them the field of battle. This first action was interpreted as an omen * of the fate of the whole war, and seemed to promise success to the Romans, but which, at the same time, would be dearly bought, and strongly contested. On both sides, those who had survived this engagement, as well as the scouts, returned to carry the news to their respective generals.

Hannibal, as he had declared, decamped the next day, and crossed through the midst of Gaul, advancing northward; not that this was the shortest way to the Alps, but only, as it led him from the sea, it prevented his meeting Scipio; and, by that means, favoured the design he

* Hec principium simulque omen belli, ut summa rerum prosperum eventum ita haud sane incruentum

ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. Liv. l. xii. n. 29.

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He had, of marching all his forces, without lessening them by fighting, into Italy.

Though Scipio marched with the utmost expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone, till three days after he had set out from it. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he returned to his fleet, and re-imbarked, fully resolved to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But, in order that he might not leave Spain defenceless, he sent his brother Cneius thither, with the greatest part of his army, to make head against Asdrubal; and himself set forward immediately for Genoa, with intention to oppose the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

The latter, after four days march, arrived at a kind of island, formed by the conflux * of two rivers, which unite their streams in this place. Here he was chosen umpire between two brothers, who disputed their right to the kingdom. He to whom Hannibal decreed it, furnished his whole army with provisions, clothes, and arms. This was the country of the Allobroges, by which name the people were called, who now inhabit the jurisdiction of Geneva, † Vienna, and Grenoble. His march was not much interrupted till he arrived at the Durances, and from thence he reached the foot of the Alps without any opposition.

The PASSAGE over the Alps.

(m) The sight of these mountains, whose tops seemed to touch the skies, and were covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few pitiful cot-

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tages

(m) Polyb. l. iii. p. 203.—208. Liv. l. xxi. n. 32—37.

* The text of Polybius, as it has been transmitted to us, and that of Livy, place this island at the meeting of the Soane and the Rhone, that is in that part where the city of Lyons stands. But this is a manifest error. It was *Ἰνδῆας* in the Greek, instead of which *Ἀπῆας* has been substituted. J. Gronovius says, that he had read,

in a manuscript of Livy, Bifarat, which shows, that we are to read *Isara Rhodanusque amnes*, instead of *Arar Rhodanusque*; and, that the island in question is formed by the conflux of the Isara and the Rhone. The situation of the Allobroges, here spoken of, proves this evidently.

† In Dauphine.

tages, scattered here and there, on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks, almost perished with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fierce aspect; this spectacle, I say, renewed the terror which the distant prospect had raised, and struck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the soldiers. When they began to climb up, they perceived the mountaineers, who had seized upon the highest cliffs, and prepared to oppose their passage. They therefore were forced to halt. Had the mountaineers, says Polybius, only lain in ambuscade, and suffered Hannibal's troops to strike into some narrow passage, and had then charged them on a sudden, the Carthaginian army would have been irrecoverably lost. Hannibal, being informed that they kept those posts only in the day time, and quitted them in the evening, possessed himself of them by night. The Gauls returning early in the morning, were very much surprised to find their posts in the enemy's hand: but still they were not disheartened. Being used to climb up those rocks, they attacked the Carthaginians who were upon their march and harrassed them on all sides. The latter were obliged, at one and the same time, to engage with the enemy, and struggle with the ruggedness of the paths of the mountains, where they could hardly stand. But the greatest disorder was caused by the horses and beasts of burthen laden with the baggage, which were frightened by the cries and howling of the Gauls, which echoed dreadfully among the mountains; and being sometimes wounded by the mountaineers, came tumbling on the soldiers, and dragged them headlong with them down the precipices which lay close to the road. Hannibal, being sensible that the loss of his baggage only was enough to destroy his army, ran to the assistance of his troops, who were thus embarrassed; and having put the enemy to flight, continued his march without molestation or danger, and came to a castle, which was the most important fortress in the whole country. He possessed himself of it, and of all the neighbouring villages, in which he found a large quantity of corn, and cattle sufficient to subsist his army three days.

After

After a pretty quiet march, the Carthaginians were to encounter a new danger. The Gauls, feigning to take advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours, who had suffered for opposing the passage of Hannibal's troops, came to pay their respects to that general, brought him provisions, offered to be his guides; and left him hostages, as pledges of their fidelity. However, Hannibal placed no great confidence in them. The elephants and horses marched in the front, whilst himself followed with the main body of his foot, keeping a vigilant eye over all things. They came at length to a very steep and narrow pass, which was commanded by an eminence where the Gauls had placed an ambuscade. These rushing out on a sudden, charged the Carthaginians on every side, rolling down stones upon them of a prodigious size. The army would have been entirely routed, had not Hannibal exerted himself in an extraordinary manner, to extricate them out of this difficulty.

At last, on the ninth day, they reached the summit of the Alps. Here the army halted two days, to rest and refresh themselves after their fatigue, and afterwards continued their march. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of snow was lately fallen, and covered all the roads, which caused a disorder among the troops, and disheartened them very much. Hannibal perceived it, and halting on a hill from whence there was a prospect of all Italy, he showed them the fruitful plains * watered by the river Po, to which they were almost come; and therefore that they had but one effort more to make, before they arrived at them. He represented to them, that a battle or two would put a glorious period to their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them possession of the capitol of the Roman empire. This speech, filled with such pleasing hopes, and enforced by the sight of Italy, inspired the dejected soldiers with fresh vigour and alacrity. They therefore pursued their march. But still the road was more craggy and troublesome than ever; and the difficulty and danger increased, in proportion as they came

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lower

* Of Piedmont.

lower down the mountain. For the ways were narrow, steep, and slippery, in most places; so that the soldiers could neither keep upon their feet as they marched, nor recover themselves when they made a false step, but stumbled, and beat down one another.

They now were come to a worse place than any they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very steep and craggy, which being made more so by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thousand feet deep. Here the cavalry stopped short. Hannibal, wondering at this sudden halt, ran to the place, and saw that it really would be impossible for the troops to advance farther. He therefore was for going a round-about way, but this also was found impracticable. As, upon the old snow, which was grown hard by lying, there was some newly fallen that was of no great depth, the feet, by their sinking into it, found a firm support; but this snow being soon dissolved, by the treading of the foremost troops and beasts of burthen, the soldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was so slippery, that there was no standing; and were, if they made the least false step, or endeavoured to save themselves with their hands or knees, there were no boughs or roots to catch hold of. Besides this difficulty, the horses, striking their feet into the ice to keep themselves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. They therefore were forced to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal resolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops some days rest, on the summit of this hill, which was of a considerable extent; after they should have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new fallen snow, which was a work of immense labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itself, and this was carried on with amazing patience and ardour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabouts were cut down, and piled round the rock; after which fire was set to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out, so that the rock

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glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then Hannibal, if Livy may be credited (for Polybius says nothing of this matter) caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock*, which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, taking a large compass about, in order that the descent might be easier, they cut away along the rock, which opened a free passage to the forces, the baggage, and even to the elephants. Four days were employed in this work, during which the beasts of burthen had no provender; there being no food for them on mountains buried under eternal snows. At last they came into cultivated and fruitful spots, which yielded plenty of forage for the horses, and all kinds of food for the soldiers.

HANNIBAL enters Italy.

(n) When Hannibal marched into Italy, his army was not near so numerous as when he left Spain, where we find it amounted to near sixty thousand men. It had sustained great losses during the march, either in the battles it was forced to fight, or in the passage of rivers. At his departure from the Rhone, it consisted of thirty eight thousand foot, and above eight thousand horse. The march over the Alps destroyed near half this number; so that Hannibal had now remaining only twelve thousand Africans, eight thousand Spanish foot, and six thousand horse. This account he himself caused to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Lacinium. It was five months and a half since his first setting out from

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(n) Polyb. l. iii. p. 209. & 212—214. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39.

* Many reject this incident as fabulous. Pliny takes notice of a remarkable quality in vinegar; viz. its being able to break rocks and stones. *Saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non rupe-rit ignis antecedit.* l. xxiii. c. 1. He therefore calls it *Succus rerum domitor*, l. xxxiii. c. 2. Dion speaking of the siege of Eleuthera, says, that the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar, l. xxxvi. p. 8. Probably, the circumstance that seems improbable on this occasion, is, the difficulty of Hannibal's procuring, in these mountains, a quantity of vinegar sufficient for this purpose.

New Carthage, including the fortnight he employed in marching over the Alps, when he set up his standards in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It might then be September.

His first care was to give his troops some rest, which they very much wanted. When he perceived that they were fit for action, the inhabitants of all the territories of Turin*, refusing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their chief city; carried it in three days, and put all who had opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck the Barbarians with so much dread, that they all came voluntarily, and surrendered at discretion. The rest of the Gauls would have done the same, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal thought therefore that he had no time to lose; that it was his interest to march up into the country, and attempt some great exploit; such as might induce those who should have an inclination to join him, to rely on his valour.

The rapid progress which Hannibal had made, greatly alarmed Rome, and caused the utmost consternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily, and hasten to the relief of his country; and P. Scipio, the other consul, advanced with the utmost diligence towards the enemy, crossed the Po, and marched and pitched his camp near the Ticinus†.

BATTLE of the CAVALRY near the Ticinus.

(a) The armies being now in sight, the generals on each side made a speech to their soldiers, before they engaged in battle. Scipio, after having represented to his forces the glory of their country, and the noble achievements of their ancestors, observed to them, that victory was in their hands, since they were to combat only with Carthaginians,

(a) Polyb. l. iii. p. 214—218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39—47.

* *Taurini.*

† *A small river (now called Tesino) in Lombardy.*

Carthaginians, a people who had been so often defeated by them, as well as forced to be their tributaries for twenty years, and long accustomed to be almost their slaves: that the advantage they had gained over the flower of the Carthaginian horse, was a sure omen of their success, during the rest of the war: that Hannibal, in marching over the Alps, had just before lost the best part of his army; and that those who survived were half dead with hunger, cold, and fatigue: that the bare sight of the Romans was sufficient to put to flight a parcel of soldiers, who had the aspect of ghosts rather than of men: in a word, that victory was become necessary, not only to secure Italy, but to save Rome itself, whose fate the present battle would decide, that city having no other army wherewith to oppose the enemy.

Hannibal, that his words might make the stronger impression on the rude minds of his soldiers, speaks to their eyes, before he addresses their ears; and does not attempt to persuade them by arguments, till he has first moved them by the following spectacle. He arms some of the prisoners he had taken in the mountains, and obliges them to fight, two and two, in sight of his army promising to reward the conquerors with their liberty and rich presents. The alacrity and vigour wherewith these Barbarians engaged upon these motives, gives Hannibal an occasion of exhibiting to his soldiers a lively image of their present condition; which, by depriving them of all means of returning back, puts them under an absolute necessity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endless evils prepared for those that should be so base and cowardly, as to submit to the Romans. He displays to them the greatness of their reward, *viz.* the conquest of all Italy; the plunder of the rich and wealthy city of Rome; an illustrious victory, and immortal glory. He speaks contemptibly of the Roman power, the false lustre of which (he observed) ought not to dazzle such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fiercest nations, into the very centre of Italy. As for his own part, he scorns to compare himself

with Scipio, a general of but six months standing: himself, who was almost born, at least brought up, in the tent of Hamilcar his father; the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and what is still more, conqueror of the Alps themselves. He rouses their indignation against the insolence of the Romans, who had dared to demand that himself, and the rest who had taken Saguntum, should be delivered up to them; and excites their jealousy against the intolerable pride of those imperious masters, who imagined that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world.

After these speeches, both sides prepare for battle. Scipio, having thrown a bridge across the Ticinus, marched his troops over it. Two ill omens* had filled his army with consternation and dread. As for the Carthaginians, they were inspired with the boldest courage. Hannibal animates them with fresh promises; and cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he prays Jupiter to dash to pieces his head in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promised them.

Scipio posts, in the first line, the troops armed with missile weapons, and the Gaulish horse; and forming his second line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advances slowly. Hannibal advanced with his whole cavalry, in the centre of which he had posted the troopers who rid with bridles, and the Numidian horsemen on the † wings, in order to surround the enemy. The officers and cavalry being eager to engage, a battle ensues. At the first onset, Scipio's light-armed soldiers discharged their darts, but frightened at the Carthaginian cavalry which came pouring upon them, and fearing lest they should be trampled under the horses feet, they gave way, and retired

* These two ill omens were, first, *A wolf had sate into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavoured to kill it: And second-*

ly, A swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the Prætorium, or general's tent. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

† The Numidians used to ride without saddle or bridle.

tired through the intervals of the squadrons. The fight continued a long time with equal success. Many troopers on both sides dismounted; so that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians surround the enemy, and charge the rear of the light-armed troops, who at first had escaped the attack of the cavalry, and tread them under their horses feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both sides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were put into disorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear; and especially by a wound the consul received, which disabled him. However, this general was rescued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his son, then but seventeen years old; and who afterwards was honoured with the surname of Africanus, for having put a glorious period to this war.

The consul, though dangerously wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horse, who covered him with their arms and bodies: The rest of the army followed him thither. He hastened to the Po, which he crossed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, whereby he prevented Hannibal from overtaking him.

It is agreed, that Hannibal owed this first victory to his cavalry; and it was judged from thenceforth that the main strength of his army consisted in his horse; and therefore, that it would be proper for the Romans to avoid large open plains, like those between the Po and the Alps.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls seemed to contend who should submit themselves first to Hannibal, furnish him with ammunition, and enlist in his army. And this, as Polybius has observed, was what chiefly induced that wise and skillful general, notwithstanding the small number and weakness of his troops, to hazard a battle; which he indeed was now obliged to venture, from the impossibility of marching back whenever he should desire to do it, because
nothing

nothing but a battle would oblige the Gauls to declare for him; their assistance being the only refuge he then had left.

BATTLE of TREBIA.

(*p*) Sempronius the consul, upon the orders he had received from the senate, was returned from Sicily to Ariminum. From thence he marched towards Trebia, a small river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po a little above Placentia, where he joined his forces to those of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, from which he was separated only by that small river. The armies lying so near one another, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horse, gained but a very small advantage over a party of Carthaginians, which nevertheless very much increased the good opinion this general naturally entertained of his own merit.

This inconsiderable success seemed to him a complete victory. He boasted his having vanquished the enemy in the same kind of fight, in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. Being now resolutely bent to come as soon as possible, to a decisive battle; he thought it proper, for decency sake, to consult Scipio, whom he found was of a quite different opinion from himself. Scipio represented, that in case time should be allowed for disciplining the new levies during the winter, they would be much fitter for service in the ensuing campaign; that the Gauls, who were naturally fickle and inconstant, would disengage themselves insensibly from Hannibal; that as soon as his wounds should be healed, his presence might be of some use in an affair of such general concern: in a word, he besought him earnestly not to proceed any further.

These reasons, though so just, made no impression upon Sempronius. He saw himself at the head of sixteen thousand

(*p*) Polyb. l. xxiii. p. 220—227. Liv. l. xxi. n. 51—56,

thousand Romans, and twenty thousand allies, exclusive of cavalry (a number which, in those ages, formed a complete army) when both consuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to near the same number. He thought the juncture extremely favourable for him. He declared publickly, that all the officers and soldiers were desirous of a battle except his colleague, whose mind (he observed) being more affected by his wound than his body, could not for that reason bear to hear of an engagement. But still, continued Sempronius, is it just to let the whole army droop and languish with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himself with the hopes that a third consul, and a new army, would come to his assistance? Such were the expressions he employed both among the soldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drawing near, Sempronius was afraid a successor would be sent before he had put an end to the war; and therefore it was his opinion, that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illness, to secure the whole honour of the victory to himself. As he had no regard, says Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which he thought suited his own interest, he could not fail of taking wrong measures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

This was the very thing Hannibal desired, holding it for a maxim, that when a general has entered a foreign country, or one possessed by the enemy, and has formed some great design, that such an one has no other refuge left, but continually to raise the expectation of his allies by some fresh exploits. Besides, knowing that he should have to deal only with new-levied and unexperienced troops, he was desirous of taking all the advantages possible of the ardour of the Gauls, who were extremely desirous of fighting; and of Scipio's absence, who, by reason of his wound, could not be present in the battle. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with two thousand men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet, which ran between the two camps;

camps; and to conceal himself among the bushes that were very thick there. An ambuscade is often safer in a smooth, open country, but full of thickets, as this was, than in woods, because such a spot is less apt to be suspected. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to fight; and then to retreat and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen, came directly to pass. The fiery Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then six thousand light-armed troops, who were soon followed by all the rest of the army. The Numidians fled designedly; upon which the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very armpits through the rivulet, which was swollen with the torrents that had fallen in the night, from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter-solstice, that is in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without taking the least precaution; whereas the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order eat and drank plentifully in their tents; had got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by the fire-side.

They were thus prepared when the fight began. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time, though they were half spent with hunger, fatigue, and cold; but their cavalry were at last broke and put to flight by the Carthaginian, which much exceeded theirs in numbers and strength. The infantry were soon in great disorder also. The soldiers in ambuscade, sallying out at a proper time, rushed on a sudden upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of about ten thousand men fought resolutely their way through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful slaughter; but as they could neither assist their friends, nor return to the camp,

camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horse, the river and the rain, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Most of the rest lost their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to pieces by the elephants and horses. Those who escaped, went and joined the body above-mentioned. The next night Scipio retired also to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loss was inconsiderable, except that a great number of their horses were destroyed by the cold, the rain, and the snow; and that, of all their elephants, they saved but one only.

(q) In Spain, the Romans had better success, in this and the following campaign; for Cn. Scipio extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus *, defeated Hanno, and took him prisoner.

(r) Hannibal took the opportunity, whilst he was in winter-quarters, to refresh his troops, and gain the affection of the natives. For this purpose, after having declared to the prisoners he had taken from the Roman allies, that he was not come with the view of making war upon them, but to restore the Italians to their liberty, and protect them against the Romans, he sent them all home to their own countries, without requiring the least ransom.

(s) The winter was no sooner over, than he set off towards Tuscany, whither he hastened his march for two important reasons. First, to avoid the ill effects which would arise from the ill-will of the Gauls, who were tired with the long stay of the Carthaginian army in their territories; and impatient of bearing the whole burthen of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view, but to carry it into the country of their common enemy. Secondly, That he might increase, by some bold exploit, the reputation of his arms in the minds of all the inhabitants of Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome; and at the same time, to animate afresh his troops, and the Gauls his allies, by the plunder of the enemy's lands.

(7) Polyb. l. iii. p. 228, 229. Liv. l. xxi. n. 60, 61.

(r) Polyb. p. 229. (s) Liv. l. xxi. n. 58.

* *Or Ebro.*

lands. But in his march over the Appennines, he was overtaken with a dreadful storm, which destroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, the wind, and hail, seemed to conspire his ruin; so that the fatigues which the Carthaginians had undergone in crossing the Alps, seemed less dreadful than those they now suffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought Sempronius, who was returned from Rome. The loss on both sides was very near equal.

(t) Whilst Hannibal was in these winter-quarters, he hit upon a true Carthaginian stratagem. He was surrounded with fickle and inconstant nations: the friendship he had contracted with them was but of fresh date. He had reason to apprehend a change in their disposition, and consequently that attempts would be made upon his life. To secure himself, therefore, he got perukes made, and clothes suited to every age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another; and disguised himself so often, that not only such as saw him transiently, but even his intimate acquaintance, could scarce know him.

(u) At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed consuls. Hannibal having advice that the latter was advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuscany, resolved to go and engage him as soon as possible. Two ways being shown him, he chose the shortest, though the most troublesome, nay, almost impassable, by reason of a fen which he was forced to go through. Here the army suffered incredible hardships. During four days and three nights, they marched half-way up the leg in water, and consequently could not get a moment's sleep. Hannibal himself who rid upon the only elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His long want of sleep, and thick vapours which exhaled from that marshy place, together with the unhealthfulness of the season, cost him one of his eyes.

(t) Polyb. l. xxi. Liv. l. xxii. n. 1. Appian in Bell. Annib. p. 316.
(u) A. M. 3788. A. Rom. 532. Polyb. p. 230, 231. Liv. l. xxii. n. 2.

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BATTLE of Thrasymene.

(x) Hannibal being thus got, almost unexpectedly, out of this dangerous place, refreshed his troops, and then marched and pitched his camp between Arretium and Fesulæ, in the richest and most fruitful part of Tuscany. His first endeavours were, to discover the genius and character of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his foible, which, according to Polybius, ought to be the chief study of a general. He was told, that Flaminius was greatly conceited of his own merit, bold, enterprising, rash, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper into these excesses, to which he was naturally prone *, he enflamed his impetuous spirit, by laying waste and burning the whole country, in his sight.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, though Hannibal should have lain still. But when he saw the territories of his allies laid waste before his eyes, he thought it would reflect dishonour upon him should he suffer Hannibal to ransack Italy without control; and even advance to the very walls of Rome, without meeting any resistance. He rejected with scorn the prudent counsels of those who advised him to wait the arrival of his colleague; and to be satisfied for the present with putting a stop to the devastation of the enemy.

In the mean time, Hannibal was still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thrasymene on his right. When he saw that the consul followed close after him, with the design to give him battle, by stopping him in his march; having observed that the ground was convenient for that purpose, he also began to prepare himself for the battle. The lake Thrasymene and the mountains of Cortona form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides, with hills of a considerable height, and closed, at the outlet, by a steep hill of difficult access. On this hill,

(x) Polyb. l. iii. p. 231—238.

* Apparebat ferociter omnia ac irritare Pegasus parat. Liv. l. xxii. præpropere acturum. Quoque pronior n. 3. esset in sua vitia, agitare eum atque

hill, Hannibal, after having crossed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army; posting his light armed infantry in ambuscade upon the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind those on the left, as far almost as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to pass. Accordingly this general who followed him very eagerly, with the resolution to fight him, being come to the defile near the lake, was forced to halt, because night was coming on; but he entered it the next morning at day-break.

Hannibal having permitted him to advance, with all his forces, above half way through the valley, and seeing the Roman van-guard pretty near him, he sounded the charge, and commanded his troops to come out of their ambuscade, in order that he might attack the enemy, at the same time, from all quarters. The reader may guess at the consternation with which the Romans were seized.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, neither had they got their arms in readiness, when they found themselves attacked in front, in rear, and in flank. In a moment, all the ranks were put into disorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in so universal a surprise, animates his soldiers both with his hand and voice; and exhorts them to cut themselves a passage, with their swords, through the midst of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned every where, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and a fog that was risen, prevented his being seen or heard. However when the Romans saw themselves surrounded on all sides either by the enemy or the lake, and the impossibility of saving their lives by flight, it roused their courage, and both parties began the fight with astonishing animosity. Their fury was so great, that not a soldier in either army perceived an earthquake which happened in that country, and buried whole cities in ruins. In this confusion, Flaminius being slain by one of the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans began to give ground, and at last quite ran away. Great numbers to save themselves leaped into the lake; whilst others, climbing

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climbing over the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands whom they strove to avoid. Six thousand only cut their way through the conquerors, and retreated to a place of safety; but the next day they were taken prisoners. In this battle fifteen thousand Romans were killed, and about ten thousand escaped to Rome by different roads. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding the least ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial, but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreshment, and solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but fifteen hundred men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal dispatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his good success in Italy. This caused the greatest joy for the present, raised the most promising hopes with regard to the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared, with incredible ardour, to send into Italy and Spain, all necessary succours.

Rome, on the contrary, was filled with universal grief and alarm, as soon as the prætor had pronounced from the rostra the following words, *We have lost a great battle*. The senate, studious of nothing but the publick welfare, thought that in so great a calamity and so imminent a danger, recourse must be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed his general of horse. We are now in the second year of the war.

HANNIBAL'S *Conduct with respect to* FABIUS.

(y) Hannibal, after the battle of Thrasymene, not thinking it yet proper to march directly to Rome, contented

(y) Polyb. l. iii. p. 239—255. Liv. l. xxii. n. 9.—30.

tented himself, in the mean time, with laying waste the country. He crossed Umbria and Picenum; and after ten days march, arrived in the territory of Adria*. He got a very considerable booty in his march. Out of his implacable enmity to the Romans, he commanded, that all who were able to bear arms, should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle any where, he advanced as far as Apulia; plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the nations to disengage themselves from their alliance with the Romans; and to show all Italy, that Rome itself, now quite despirited, yielded him the victory.

Fabius, followed by Minucius and four legions, had marched from Rome in quest of the enemy, but with a firm resolution not to let him take the least advantage, nor to advance one step till he had first reconnoitred every place; nor hazard a battle till he should be sure of success.

As soon as both armies were in sight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing very near the entrenchments of their camp. But finding every thing quiet there, he retired; blaming, in appearance the outward cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having at last lost that valour so natural to their ancestors; but fretted inwardly, to find he had to do with a general of so different a genius from Sempronius and Flaminius; and that the Romans, instructed by their defeat, had at last made choice of a commander capable of opposing Hannibal.

From this moment he perceived that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldness of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which might perplex and embarrass him very much. The only circumstance he now wanted to know was, whether the new general had resolution enough to pursue steadily the plan he seemed to have laid down. He endeavoured therefore to rouse him, by his frequent

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* A small town, which gave name to the Adriatic sea.

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removals from place to place, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would raise his camp with the utmost precipitation; and at another, stop short in some valley out of the common rout, to try whether he could not surprise him in the plain. However, Fabius still kept his troops on hills, but without losing sight of Hannibal; never approaching near enough to come to an engagement; nor yet keeping at such a distance, as might give him an opportunity of escaping him. He never suffered his soldiers to stir out of the camp, except to forage, and on those occasions, not without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged it was only in slight skirmishes, and so very cautiously, that his troops had always the advantage. By this conduct he revived, by insensible degrees, the courage of the soldiers, which the loss of three battles had entirely damped; and enabled them to rely, as they had formerly done, on their valour and good success.

Hannibal, having got immensely rich spoils in Campania, where he had resided a considerable time, left it, with his army, in order that he might not consume the provisions he had laid up, and which he reserved for the winter season. Besides, he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye, than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter-quarters among marshes, rocks, and sands; during which the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to settle elsewhere.

Fabius naturally supposed, that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into, and thereby securing, Casilinum, a small town situated on the Volturnus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua: he afterwards detached four thousand men, to go and seize the only narrow pass through which Hannibal could come out; and then,

according to his usual custom, posts himself with the remainder of the army on the hills adjoining to the road.

The Carthaginians arrive, and encamp in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now, the crafty Carthaginian falls into the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thrasymene; and it seemed impossible for him ever to extricate himself out of this difficulty, their being but one outlet, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, fancying himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself with the probable hopes of putting an end to the war by this single battle. Nevertheless, he thought fit to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived, that * his own artifices were now employed against him. It is in such junctures as these, that a general has need of great presence of mind, and unusual fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent, without being struck with the least dread; and to find out sure and instant expedients without deliberating. Immediately the Carthaginian general caused two thousand oxen to be got together, and ordered small bundles of vine-branches to be tied to their horns. He then commanded the branches to be set on fire in the dead of night, and the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped. As soon as those creatures felt the flame, the pain putting them in a rage, they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. This squadron, of a new kind, was sustained by a good number of light-armed soldiers, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to charge the enemy in case they should meet them. All things happened which Hannibal had foreseen. The Romans, who guarded the defile, seeing the fires spread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his escape by torch-light, quit their post, and run up to the mountains to oppose his passage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of all this tumult; and

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* Nec Annibalem fecellit suis se artibus peti. Liv.

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Fabius himself not daring to stir, as it was excessively dark, for fear of a surprise, waits for the return of the day. Hannibal seizes this opportunity, marches his troops and the spoils through the defile which was now unguarded, and rescues his army out of a snare in which, had Fabius been but a little more vigorous, it would either have been destroyed, or at least very much weakened. It is glorious for a man to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them subservient to his reputation.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, still pursued and harrassed by the Romans. The dictator, being obliged to take a journey to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies, earnestly intreated his general of horse, before his departure, not to fight during his absence. However, Minucius did not regard either his advice or his entreaties; but the very first opportunity he had whilst part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, he charged the rest, and gained some advantage. He immediately sent advice of this to Rome, as if he had obtained a considerable victory. The news of this, with what had just before happened at the passage of the defile, raised complaints and murmurs against the slow and timorous circumspection of Fabius. In a word, matters were carried so far, that the Roman people gave his general of horse an equal authority with him; a thing unheard of before, the dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this: For he had left Rome, in order that he might not be an eye-witness of what was contriving against him. His constancy, however, was not shaken. He was very sensible, that though his authority in the command was divided, yet his skill in the art of war was not so*. This soon became manifest.

Minucius, grown arrogant at the advantage he had gained over his colleague, proposed that each should command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this proposal, as it would have exposed the whole army to danger, whilst under the command of

VOL. II.

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Minucius.

* Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam.
Liv. l. xxii. n. 26.

Minucius. He therefore chose to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part which should fall to his share.

Hannibal, fully informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was over-joyed to hear of this dissension of the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, who accordingly plunged headlong into it; and engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. But his troops being soon put into disorder, were just upon the point of being cut to pieces, when Fabius, alarmed by the sudden outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers: "Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius: Let us fly and snatch the victory from the enemy, and extort from our fellow-citizens a confession of their fault." This succour was very seasonable, and compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, "That the cloud, which had been long hovering on the summit of the mountains, had at last burst with a loud crack, and caused a mighty storm." So important and seasonable a service done by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius. He accordingly acknowledged his error, returned immediately to his duty and obedience, and showed, that it is sometimes more glorious to know how to atone for a fault, than not to have committed it.

The state of AFFAIRS in SPAIN.

(y) In the beginning of this campaign, Cn. Scipio, having suddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ships, with a great quantity of rich spoils. This victory made the Romans sensible, that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw considerable supplies both of men and money from that country. Accordingly they sent a fleet thither, the command whereof was given to P. Scipio, who after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the common-

(y) Polyb. l. iii. p. 245—250. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19—22.

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wealth very great service. Till that time the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro. They then were satisfied, with their having gained the friendship of the nations situated between that river and Italy, and confirming it by alliances: but under Publius, they crossed the Ebro, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their affairs, was, the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished families in Spain, whom he had taken as hostages. Abelox, for so this Spaniard was called, persuaded Bostar, the governor of the city, to send back these young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more firmly to the Carthaginian interest. He himself was charged with this commission. But he carried them to the Romans, who afterwards delivered them to their relations, and, by so acceptable a present, acquired their amity.

The BATTLE of CANNÆ.

(2) The next spring, C. Terentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus were chosen consuls at Rome. In this campaign, which was the third of the second Punic war, the Romans did what had never been practised before, viz. to compose the army of eight legions, each consisting of five thousand men, exclusive of the allies. For, as we have already observed, the Romans never raised but four legions, each of which consisted of about four thousand foot, and three hundred horse*. They never, except on the most important occasions, made them consist of five thousand of the one, and four hundred of the other. As for the troops of the allies, their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horse. Each of the consuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, in order for them

E 2

to

(2) A. M. 3789. A. Rom. 533. Polyb. l. iii. p. 255—263.

Liv. l. xxii. n. 34—54.

* Polybius supposes only two hundred horse in each legion: But J. Lipsius thinks that this is a mistake either of the author or transcriber.

to act separately; and all these forces were very seldom used at the same time, and in the same expedition. Here the Romans had not only four, but eight legions, so important did the affair appear to them. The senate even thought fit, that the two consuls of the foregoing year, Servilius and Attilius, should serve in the army as proconsuls; but the latter could not go into the field, by reason of his great age.

Varro, at his setting out from Rome, had declared openly, that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, so long as men, of the character of Fabius, should be at the head of the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians of whom near seventeen hundred were killed, greatly increased his boldness and arrogance. As for Hannibal he considered this loss as a real advantage; being persuaded that it would serve as a bait to the consul's rashness, and prompt him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely. It was afterwards known, that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not possibly have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards were already meditating to leave him. So that there would have been an end of Hannibal and his army, if his good fortune had not thrown a Varro in his way.

Both armies having often removed from place to place, came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level open country, and his cavalry much superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in such a place. He was for drawing the enemy into an irregular spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action. But his colleague, who was wholly inexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the inconveniency of a divided command; jealousy, a disparity of tempers, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create a dissention between the two generals.

The troops on each side were, for some time, contented with slight skirmishes. But, at last one day

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when Varro had the command (for the two consuls took it by turns) preparations were made on both sides for battle. Æmilius had not been consulted; yet, though he extremely disapproved the conduct of his colleague, as it was not in his power to prevent it, he seconded him to the utmost.

Hannibal, after having made his soldiers observe, that, being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have pitched upon a better spot for fighting, had it been left to their choice: "Return then, says he, thanks to the gods, for having brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them; and thank me also, for having reduced the Romans to a necessity of coming to an engagement. After three great victories, won successively, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By the former battles, you are become masters of the open country; but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and (I presume to say it) of all the riches and power of the Romans. It is not words that we want but action. I trust in the gods, that you shall soon see my promises verified."

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to four-score thousand foot, and a little above six thousand horse; and that of the Carthaginians consisted but of forty thousand foot, all well disciplined, and of ten thousand horse. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans, Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the consuls of the last year, was posted in the centre. Hannibal, who had the art of taking all advantages, had posted himself, so as the wind Vulturnus*, which rises at certain stated times, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with dust; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left,

E 3

and

* A violent burning wind, blowing South-South-East, which, in clouds of hot dust, and blinded and choked the Romans.
the flat and sandy country, raised

and posting his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spanish and Gallick infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on the right, and half on their left, on the same line with the cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he put himself at the head of the Spanish and Gallick infantry; and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to give them battle, rounding his front as he advanced nearer the enemy; and extending his flanks in the shape of a half moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the rest of the line, which consisted of the heavy-armed infantry, who had not moved from their posts.

The fight soon began, and the Roman legions that were in the wings, seeing their centre warmly attacked, advanced to charge the enemy in flank. Hannibal's main body, after a brave resistance, finding themselves furiously attacked on all sides, gave way, being overpowered by numbers; and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans having pursued them thither with eager confusion, the two wings of the African infantry, which was fresh, well-armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a sudden towards that void space in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themselves in disorder; and attacked them vigorously on both sides, without allowing them time to recover themselves, or leaving them ground to draw up. In the mean time, the two wings of the cavalry, having defeated those of the Romans, which were much inferior to them; and in order to pursue the broken and scattered squadrons, having left only as many forces as were necessary to keep them from rallying, advanced and charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which being surrounded at once on every side by the enemy's horse and foot, was all cut to pieces, after having fought with unparalleled bravery. Æmilius, being covered with the wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of the enemy to whom

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he was not known; and with him two quaestors, one and twenty military tribunes, many who had been either consuls or praetors; Servilius, one of the last year's consuls; Minucius, the late general of the horse to Fabius, and fourscore senators. Above seventy thousand men fell in this battle *; and the Carthaginians, so great was their fury †, did not give over the slaughter, till Hannibal, in the very heat of it, called out to them several times; *Stop soldiers; spare the vanquished.* Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp, surrendered themselves prisoners of war after the battle. Varro the consul retired to Venusia, with only seventy horse; and about four thousand men escaped into the neighbouring cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans. He lost four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march directly to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the Capitol. Hannibal answering, that it was an affair which required mature examination; "I see, replies Maharbal, that the gods have not endowed the same man with all talents. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory ‡."

It is pretended that this delay saved Rome and the empire. Many authors, and among the rest Livy, charge Hannibal, on this occasion, as guilty of a capital error. But others, more reserved, are not for condemning without evident proofs, so renowned a general, who in the rest of his conduct, was never wanting, either in prudence to make choice of the best

E 4

expedients,

* Livy lessens very much the number of the slain, making them amount but to about forty three thousand. But Polybius ought rather to be believed.

† Duo maximi exercitus caesi ad hostium satietatem, donec Annibal

diceret militi suo: Parce ferro. Flor. l. i. c. 6.

‡ Tum Maharbal: non omnia nimirum eidem Dii dedere. Vincere scis, Annibal, victoria uti nescis. Liv. l. xxii. n. 51.

expedients, or in readiness to put his designs in execution. They, besides, are inclined to judge favourably of him, from the authority, or at least the silence of Polybius, who speaking of the memorable consequences of this celebrated battle, says, That the Carthaginians were firmly persuaded, that they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault: but then he does not mention, how this could possibly have been effected, as that city was very populous, warlike, strongly fortified, and defended with a garrison of two legions; nor does he any where give the least hint that such a project was feasible, or that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution.

And, indeed, if we examine matters more narrowly, we shall find that according to the common maxims of war, it could not be undertaken. It is certain, that Hannibal's whole infantry, before the battle, amounted but to forty thousand men; and as six thousand of these had been slain in the action, and, doubtless, many more either wounded or disabled, there could remain but six or seven and twenty thousand foot fit for service; now this number was not sufficient to invest so large a city as Rome, which had a river running through it; nor to attack it in form, because they had neither engines, ammunition, nor any other things necessary for carrying on a siege. (a) For want of these, Hannibal, even after his victory at Thrasymene, miscarried in his attempt upon Spoletum; and soon after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raise the siege of a little nameless city *. It cannot be denied, but that had he miscarried on the present occasion, nothing less could have been expected but that he must have been irrecoverably lost. However, to form a just judgement of this matter, a man ought to be a soldier, and should, perhaps, have been upon the spot. This is an old dispute, on which none but those who are perfectly well skilled in the art of war, should pretend to give their opinion.

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a) Liv. l. xxi. n. 9. Ibid. l. xxiii. n. 18.

* *Casilinum.*

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(b) Soon after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal dispatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of this victory; and at the same time to demand succours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the war. Mago being arrived, made, in full senate, a lofty speech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and displayed the great advantages he had gained over the Romans. And to give a more lively idea of the greatness of the victory, by speaking in some measure to the eye, he poured out in the middle of the senate, a bushel* of gold rings, which had been taken from the fingers of such of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. He concluded with demanding money, provisions, and fresh troops. All the spectators were struck with an extraordinary joy; upon which Imilcon, a great stickler for Hannibal, fancying he now had a fair opportunity to insult Hanno, the chief of the contrary faction, asked him whether he was still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and was for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno, without discovering the least emotion, replied, that he was still of the same mind; and that the victories they so much boasted (supposing them real) could not give him joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace: He then undertook to prove that the mighty exploits, on which they insisted so much, were wholly chimerical and imaginary. "I have cut to pieces, says he (continuing Mago's speech) the Roman armies. Send me some troops. — What more could you ask, had you been conquered? I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp, full (no doubt) of provisions of every kind. — Send me provisions and money. — Could you have talked otherwise had you lost your camp?"

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(b) Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11—14.

* Pliny l. xxxiii. c. 1. says, that there were three bushels sent to Carthage. Livy observes, that some authors make them amount to three bushels and a half; but he thinks it most probable, that there was but one, l. xxxiii. n. 12. Florus, l. ii. c. 16, makes it two bushels.

He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations were come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace? To this Mago answering in the negative: "I then perceive," replied Hanno, that we are no farther advanced, "than when Hannibal first landed in Italy." The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be sent. But Hannibal's faction prevailing at that time, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were considered merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy; and, accordingly, orders were given for levying the supplies of men and money which Hannibal required. Mago set out immediately for Spain, to raise twenty four thousand foot, and four thousand horse in that country; but these levies were afterwards stopped, and sent another way; so eager was the contrary faction to oppose the designs of a general whom they utterly abhorred. (c) Whereas, in Rome, a consul, who had fled, was thanked because he had not despaired of the common-wealth; at Carthage, people were almost angry with Hannibal, for being victorious. But Hanno could never forgive him the advantages he had gained in this war, because he had undertaken it in opposition to his counsel. Thus being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to the Carthaginian general than to the Romans, he did all that lay in his power to prevent future, and to ruin past successes.

HANNIBAL takes up his winter-quarters in CAPUA.

(d) The battle of Cannæ subjected the most powerful nations of Italy to Hannibal, drew over to his interest Græcia Magna*, with the city of Tarentum;

(c) De St. Evrem.

* Cæterum quum Græci omnem fere oram maritimam Colonis suis, e Græcia deductis, obsiderent, &c. But after the Greeks had, by their colonies, possessed themselves of almost

(d) Liv. xxiii. n. 4.—18.

all the maritime coast this very country (together with Sicily) was called Græcia Magna, &c. Cluveri Geograph. l. iii. c. 30.

and so wrested from the Romans, their most ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the first rank. This city, by the fertility of its soil, its advantageous situation, and the blessings of a long peace, had risen to great wealth and power. Luxury, and a flow of pleasures, (the usual attendants on wealth) had corrupted the minds of all its citizens, who, from their natural inclinations, were but too much inclined to voluptuousness and all excesses.

Hannibal *made choice of this city for his winter-quarters. Here it was that his soldiers, who had sustained the most grievous toils, and braved the most formidable dangers, were overthrown by delights and a profusion of all things, into which they plunged with the greater eagerness, as they, till then, had been strangers to them. Their courage was so greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that, all their after-efforts were owing rather to the fame and splendor of their former victories, than to their present strength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, one would have taken them for other men, and the reverse of those who had so lately marched into it. Accustomed, during the winter-season, to commodious lodgings, to ease and plenty, they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirst, long marches, watchings, and the other toils of war; not to mention that all obedience, all discipline, were intirely laid aside.

I only transcribe on this occasion from Livy, who, if he may be credited, thinks Hannibal's stay at Capua a reproach to his conduct; and pretends, that he there was guilty of an infinitely greater error, than when he neglected to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For this delay †, says Livy, might seem

E 6

only

* Ibid partem majorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit; adversus omnia humana mala sæpe ac diu durantem, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immediate, et

eo impensius, quo avidius ex insolentia in eas se miserant. *Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.*

† Illa enim cunctatio dissiplis modo victoriam viseri potuit, hic error vires ademptis ad vincendum. *Liv. l. xxiii. 18.*

only to have retarded his victory; whereas this last misconduct rendered him absolutely incapable of ever defeating the enemy. In a word, as Marcellus observed judiciously afterwards, Capua was to the Carthaginians and their general, what * Cannæ had been to the Romans. There their martial genius, their love of discipline were lost: there their former fame, and their almost certain hopes of future glory, vanished at once. And, indeed, from thenceforth the affairs of Hannibal advanced to their decline by swift steps; fortune declared in favour of prudence, and victory seemed now reconciled to the Romans.

I know not whether Livy has reason to impute all these fatal consequences to the delicious abode of Capua. If we examine carefully all the circumstances of this history, we shall scarce be able to persuade ourselves, that the little progress which was afterwards made by the arms of Hannibal, ought to be ascribed to Capua. It might, indeed, have been one cause, but this would be a very inconsiderable one: and the bravery with which the forces of Hannibal, afterwards defeated the armies of consuls and prætors; the towns they took even in sight of the Romans; their maintaining their conquests so vigorously, and staying fourteen years after this in Italy in spite of the Romans; all these circumstances may induce us to believe, that Livy lays too great a stress on the delights of Capua.

The real cause of the decay of Hannibal's affairs was owing to his want of necessary recruits and succours from Carthage. (e) After Mago's speech, the Carthaginian senate had judged it necessary, in order for the carrying on the conquests in Italy, to send thither a considerable re-inforcement of Numidian horse, forty elephants, and a thousand talents; and to hire, in Spain, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse,

(e) Liv. l. xxiii. n. 13,

* Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi prætorum tem-
poris famam, ibi spem futuri exitum. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 45.

horse, to re-inforce their armies in Spain and Italy. (f) Nevertheless, Mago could obtain an order but for twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and even, when he was just going to march to Italy with an army, so much inferior to that which had been promised him, he was countermanded and sent to Spain. So that Hannibal, after these mighty promises, had neither infantry, cavalry, elephants, nor money sent him; but was left to his shifts. His army was now reduced to twenty six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. How could it be possible for him with so inconsiderable an army, to seize, in an enemy's country, on all the advantageous posts; to awe his new allies, to preserve his old conquests, and form new ones; and to keep the field, with advantage, against two armies of the Romans which were recruited every year? This was the true cause of the declension of Hannibal's affairs, and of the ruin of those of Carthage. Was the part where Polybius treated this subject extant, we doubtless should find, that he lays a greater stress on this cause, than on the luxurious delights of Capua.

The transactions relating to Spain and Sardinia.

(g) The two Scipios continued in the command of Spain, and their arms were making a considerable progress there, when Asdrubal, who alone seemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage to march into Italy to the relief of his brother. Before he left Spain, he writ to the senate, to convince them of the absolute necessity of their sending a general in his stead, who had abilities sufficient for opposing the Romans. Imilcon was therefore sent thither with an army; and Asdrubal set out upon his march with his, in order to go and join his brother. The news of his departure was no sooner known, but the greatest part of

(f) Ibid. n. 32.

n. 26-30-32-40, 41.

(g) A. M. 3790. A. Rom. 534. Liv. l. xxiii.

of Spain was subjected by the Scipios. These two generals, animated by such signal success, resolved to prevent him, if possible, from leaving Spain. They considered the danger to which the Romans would be exposed, if, being scarce able to resist Hannibal only, they should be attacked by the two brothers at the head of two powerful armies. They therefore pursued Asdrubal, and, coming up with that general, forced him to fight, against his inclination. Asdrubal was overcome; and, so far from being able to continue his march for Italy, he found that it would be impossible for him to continue with any safety in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better success in Sardinia. Designing to take advantage of some rebellions they had fomented in that country, they lost twelve thousand men in a battle fought against the Romans, who took a still greater number of prisoners, amongst whom were Asdrubal surnamed Calvus, Hanno, and Mago*, who were distinguished by their birth as well as military exploits.

The ill success of HANNIBAL. The SIEGES of CAPUA and Rome

(b) From Hannibal's abode in Capua, the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer supported their reputation. M. Marcellus, first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harraided Hannibal's army on every occasion, seized upon his quarters, forced him to raise sieges, and even defeated him in several engagements; so that he was called the sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been named its buckler.

(i) But what most affected the Carthaginian general, was, to see Capua besieged by the Romans. In order therefore to preserve his reputation among his allies, by a vigorous support of those who held the chief rank as such, he flew to the relief of that city, brought forward

(b) A. M. 3791. A. Rom. 535. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 41—46. l. xxv. n. 22. l. xxvi. n. 5—16. (i) A. M. 3793. A. Rom. 537.

* Not Hannibal's brother.

forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought several battles to oblige them to raise the siege. (k) At last, seeing all his measures defeated, he marched hastily towards Rome, in order to make a powerful diversion. He had some hopes, in case he could have an opportunity, in the first consternation, to storm some part of the city, of drawing the Roman generals with all their forces from the siege of Capua, to the relief of their Capital; at least he flattered himself, that if, for the sake of continuing the siege, they should divide their forces, their weakness might then offer an occasion, either to the Capuans or himself, of engaging and defeating them. Rome was struck, but not confounded. A proposal being made by one of the senators to recall all the armies to succour Rome, Fabius * declared, that it would be shameful in them to be terrified, and forced to change their measures upon every motion of Hannibal. They therefore contented themselves with only recalling part of the army, and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius the proconsul, from the siege. Hannibal, after making some devastations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city and the consul did the same. Both sides were preparing to signalize themselves in a battle, of which Rome was to be the recompence, when a violent storm obliged them to separate. They were no sooner returned to their respective camps, but the face of the heavens grew calm and serene. The same happened frequently afterwards; insomuch that Hannibal, believing that there was something supernatural in the event, said according to Livy, that sometimes † his own will, and sometimes fortune, would not suffer him to take Rome.

But the circumstances which most surprised and intimidated him, was the news, that, whilst he lay encamped at one of the gates of Rome, the Romans had sent

(k) A. M. 3794 A. Rom 538.

* Flagitiosum esse terreri ac circumagi ad omnes Annibalis comminationes. *Liv.* l. xxvi n. 8.

† Audita vox Annibalis fertur

Potiusdæ sibi urbis Romæ, modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. *Liv.* l. xxvi. n. 11.

sent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and, at the same time, disposed of the ground whereon his camp was pitched, notwithstanding which it had been sold for its full value. So barefaced a contempt stung Hannibal to the quick: he therefore on the other side, exposed to sale the shops of the goldsmiths round the Forum. After this bravado he retired and in his march plundered the rich temple of the goddess Feronia*.

Capua, thus left to itself, held out but very little longer. After that such of its senators, as had the chief hand in the revolt, and consequently could not expect any quarter from the Romans, had put themselves to a truly tragical death †, the city surrendered at discretion. The success of this siege, which, by the happy consequences wherewith it was attended, proved decisive, and gave the Romans a visible superiority over the Carthaginians; displayed, at the same time, how formidable the power of the Romans was ‡, when they undertook to punish their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends, at a time when they most wanted it.

The DEFEAT and DEATH of the two SCIPIOS in Spain.

- (1) The face of affairs was very much changed in Spain.

(1) A. M. 3793. A. Rom. 527. Liv. l. xxv. n. 32—39.

* Feronia was the goddess of groves, and there was one, with a temple in it, dedicated to her, at the foot of the mountain Soracte. Strabo, speaking of the grove where this goddess was worshipped, says that a sacrifice was offered annually to her in it; and that her votaries inspired by this goddess, walked unhurt over burning coal. There are still extant some medals of Augustus in which this goddess is represented with a crown on her head.

† Virius Virius, the chief of this conspiracy, after having represented to the Capuan senate, the severe treatment which his country might

expect from the Romans, prevailed with twenty seven senators to go with him to his own house, where, after eating a plentiful dinner, and heating themselves with wine, they all drank poison. Then, taking their last farewell, some withdrew to their own houses, others staid with Virius; and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans. Liv. xxvi. n. 13. 14.

‡ Confessio expressa hosti quantavis in Romanis ad eperendas penas ab infidelibus sociis & quam nihil in Annibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset. Liv. l. xxvi, n. 16.

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Spain. The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo; the second by Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the first Asdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin; it accordingly was agreed that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and thirty thousand Celtiberians, should march against Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar; whilst Publius, with the remainder of the forces composed of Romans and the allies of Italy, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. To the two leaders whom he had to oppose, Masinissa, elated with the victories he had lately gained over Syphax, joined himself; and was to be soon followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement. The Romans, being thus attacked on all sides at once, made a brave resistance as long as they had their general at their head; but the moment he fell, the few troops, which had escaped the slaughter, secured themselves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. He was already more than half vanquished, by the desertion of his allies, who all forsook him; and left, to the Roman generals, this important instruction*, viz. never to let their own forces be exceeded in number by those of foreigners. He guessed that his brother was slain, and his army defeated, upon seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and the Spaniards bewailed

* Id quidem cavendum semper auxiliis, ut non plus sui roboris Romanis ducibus erit, exemplaque hæc vere pro documentis habenda. Ne ita externis credant suarumque proprie virium in castis habeant. *Liv. n. 33.*

bewailed their memory, because of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These vast countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius, * a private officer of the Equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Shortly after this, the younger Scipio was sent thither, who greatly revenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of the Romans in Spain, to their former flourishing condition.

The DEFEAT and DEATH of ASDRUBAL.

(m) One unforeseen defeat ruined all the measures, and blasted all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy. The consuls of this year which was the eleventh of the second Punick war (for I pass over several events for brevity sake) were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius. The latter had for his province, the Cisalpin Gaul, where he was to oppose Asdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians, and in Lucania, that is in the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there making head against Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Asdrubal very little trouble, because his brother had cleared the way for him, and all nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this he dispatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by their letters, that Asdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispencc with the

(m) A. M. 3798. A. Rom. 542. Polyb. l. xi p. 622—625. Liv. l. xxvii. p. 35—39—51.

* He attacked the Carthaginians who had divided themselves into two camps, and were secure, as they thought, from any immediate attempt of the Romans; killed thirty seven thousand of them; took one thousand eight hundred prisoners, and brought off immense plunder. Liv. l. xxi. v. 39.

the established rules * of his duty, for the welfare of his country. In consequence of this, it was his opinion, that such a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, as might be capable of striking terror into the enemy; by marching to the relief of his colleague, in order for them to charge Asdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces. This design, if the several circumstances of it were thoroughly examined, will appear exceeding remote from imprudence. To prevent the two brothers from joining their armies, was to save the state. Very little would be hazarded, even though Hannibal should be informed of the absence of the consul. From his army, which consisted of forty-two thousand men, he drew out but seven thousand for his own detachment, which indeed were the flower of his troops, but, at the same time, a very inconsiderable part of them. The rest remained in the camp, which was advantageously situated, and strongly fortified. Now could it be supposed, that Hannibal would attack, and force a camp, defended by thirty five thousand men?

Nero set out without giving his Soldiers the least notice of his design. When he advanced so far, that it might be communicated without any danger, he told them, that he was leading them to certain victory; that in war, all things depended upon reputation: that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other consul in the night, but did not pitch separate camps, the better to impose upon the enemy. The troops which were newly arrived joined those of Livius. The army of Portius the prætor was encamped near that of the consul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion that it might be proper to allow the troops some days to refresh themselves; but Nero besought him not to ruin, by delay,

* No general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another.

delay, an enterprize to which dispatch only could give success; and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, as well absent as present. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the signal for battle was given. Asdrubal, advancing to his foremost ranks, discovered by several circumstances, that fresh troops were arrived; and he did not doubt but that they belonged to the other consul. This made him conjecture, that his brother had sustained a considerable loss, and at the same time, fear, that he was come too late to his assistance.

After making these reflections, he caused a retreat to be sounded. and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched, at random, along the banks of the river Metaurus*, and was preparing to cross it, when the three armies of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did all things which could be expected from the presence of mind and valour of a great captain. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing (the weakest part of his army) in such a manner, that it could neither be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving to his main battle and right wing, a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces he posted himself in the centre, and first marched to attack the enemy's left wing; well knowing that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. Asdrubal, especially, signalized himself in this engagement, and added new glory to that he had already acquired by a series of shining actions. He led on his soldiers, trembling and quite dispirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them

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by his words, supported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces, endeavoured to bring back those who fled; till at last, seeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal.

This was the most bloody battle the Carthaginians had fought during this war: And, whether we consider the death of the general, or the slaughter made of the Carthaginian forces, it may be looked upon as a reprisal for the battle of Cannæ. The Carthaginians lost fifty five thousand men*, and six thousand were taken prisoners. The Romans lost eight thousand. These were so weary of killing, that some person telling Livius, that he might easily cut to pieces a body of the enemy who were flying: *It is fit, says he, that some should survive, in order that they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthaginians.*

Nero set out upon his march, on the very night which followed the engagement. Through all places where he passed, in his return, shouts of joy and loud acclamations welcomed him, instead of those fears and uneasinesses which his coming had occasioned. He arrived in his camp the sixth day. Asdrubal's head being thrown into that of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate. Hannibal perceived by this cruel stroke, the fortune of Carthage: *It is done, says he†, I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage. In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune.* He afterwards retired to the extremities of the

* According to Polybius, the loss amounted but to ten thousand men, and that of the Romans to two thousand. 1. ii. p. 870. Edit. Gronov. † Horace makes him speak thus, in the beautiful ode where this defeat is described.

Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos. Occidit, occidit!

Spes omnis & fortuna nostri

Nominis, Asdrubal interempto. *Lib. vi. Od. 4.*

the country of the Brutians, where he assembled all his forces, who found it a very difficult matter to subsist there, as no provisions were sent them from Carthage.

Scipio conquers all Spain. Is appointed consul, and sails into Africa. Hannibal is recalled.

(n) The fate of arms was not more propitious to the Carthaginians in Spain. The prudent vivacity of young Scipio had restored the Roman affairs in that country to their former flourishing state, as the courageous slowness of Fabius had before done Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Asdrubal son of Gisgo, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies, by the Romans, in several engagements, Scipio at last possessed himself of Spain, and subjected it entirely to the Roman power. It was at this time that Masinissa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans; and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

(o) Scipio, at his return to Rome, was declared consul, being then thirty years of age. He had P. Licinius Crassus for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permission for him to cross into Africa, if he found it convenient. He set out with all imaginable expedition for this province; while his colleague was to command in the country whither Hannibal was retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had displayed all the prudence, the courage, and capacity which could have been expected from the greatest generals, and the conquest of all Spain, were more than sufficient to immortalize his name: but he had considered these only as so many steps by which he was to climb to a nobler enterprise, and this was the conquest of Africa. Accordingly he crossed over thither, and made it the feat of the war.

(n) A. M. 5799. A. Rom. 543. Polyh. l. xi. p. 150. & l. xiv. p. 677—687. & l. xv. p. 689—694. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 1—4—16—38—46. l. xxix. n. 24—36. l. xxx. n. 20—30.

(o) A. M. 3800. A. Rom. 554.

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The devastation of the country; the siege of Utica, one of the strongest cities of Africa; the entire defeat of the two armies under Syphax and Asdrubal, whose camp was burnt by Scipio; and afterwards the taking Syphax himself prisoner, who was the most powerful resource the Carthaginians had left; all these things forced them at last to turn their thoughts to peace. They thereupon deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected for that purpose, out of the powerful body, at Carthage, called the *council of the hundred*. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth (such was the custom of their country) spoke to him in terms of great submission, accusing Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promising, in the name of the senate, an implicit obedience to whatever the Romans should please to ordain. Scipio answered, that though he was come into Africa, not for peace but conquest, he would however grant them a peace, upon condition that they should deliver up all the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that they should recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; should never set foot again in Spain; should retire out of all the islands between Italy and Africa; should deliver up all their ships, twenty excepted, to the victor; should give to the Romans five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay fifteen thousand talents: that in case they were pleased with these conditions, they then, he said, might send ambassadors to the senate. The Carthaginians feigned a compliance, but this was only to gain time, till Hannibal should be returned. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately sent deputies to Rome, and at the same time an express to Hannibal, to order his return to Africa.

(p) He was then as was observed before, in the extremity of Italy. Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not listen to without groans and almost tears; and was exasperated almost to madness, to see himself

self thus forced to quit his prey. Never banished man* shewed so much regret at leaving his native country, as Hannibal did at going out of that of an enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, says † Livy, upon himself for not having marched his soldiers directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, whilst they were still reeking hot with the blood of its citizens.

At Rome the senate greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by the Carthaginian deputies in justification of their republick, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering in its name to the treaty of Lutatius; thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the spot could best judge what conditions best suited the welfare of the state.

About the same time, Octavius the prætor sailing from Sicily with two hundred vessels of burthen, was attacked near Carthage by a furious storm which dispersed all his fleet. The citizens not bearing to see so rich a prey escape them, demanded importunately that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied. Asdrubal sailing out of the harbour, seized the greatest part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to the Carthaginian senate, to complain of this, but they were little regarded. Hannibal's approach had revived their courage, and filled them with great hopes. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy; which was granted and accordingly two ships of the republick attended them, but the ma-

strates.

* *Raro quenkum alium patriam exilii causa relinquentem magis mœstum abiisse ferunt, quam Annibalem hostium terra excedentem. Respexisse sæpe Italiæ littora & deos hominesque accusantem, ne se quoque ac tuum ipsius caput execratum. Quod non*

cruentum ab Cannensi victor a matrem Romam duxisset. Liv. l. xxx. n. 23.

† *Livy s. p. p. s. however, this delay was a capital error in Hannibal, which he himself afterwards regretted.*

gistrates, who were absolutely against the peace, and determined to renew the war, gave private orders to Asdrubal (who was with the fleet near Utica) to attack the Roman galley when it should arrive in the river Bagrada near the Roman camp, where the convoy was ordered to leave them. He obeyed the order, and sent out two galleys against the ambassadors, who nevertheless made their escape, but with difficulty and danger.

This was a fresh subject for a war between the two nations, who now were more animated, or rather more exasperated one against the other, than ever; the Romans, from the strong desire they had to revenge so black a perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a persuasion that they were not now to expect a peace.

At the same time Lælius and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies of Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations, in the person of the Roman ambassadors; it was natural that their principals should order the Carthaginian deputies to be seized by way of reprisal. However, Scipio *, more attentive to the Roman generosity, than to the demerits of the Carthaginians, in order not to deviate from the principles and maxims of his own countrymen, nor his own character, dismissed the deputies, without offering them the least injury. So astonishing an instance of moderation, and at such a juncture, terrified the Carthaginians, and even put them to the blush; and made Hannibal himself entertain a still higher idea of a general, who, to the dishonourable practices of his enemies, opposed only a rectitude and greatness of soul, that was still more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

In the mean time, Hannibal, being strongly importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced forward into the

* Εὐχόμετο παρ' αὐτῶν σ. ἀλλ' ὅτι
 ῥόμην θύειν ἔπαισι τί σέον παθεῖν κατ-
 ἔδοικεν, ὡς τι δέον ἦν παραβαίνειν ῥωμαίους.
 Polyb. l. xv. p. 965. Edit. Gronov.
Quibus Scipio. Et non indu-
 cianum modo fides, sed etiam jus
 gentium in legatis violatum esset:
 tamen se nihil nec institutis populi
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 num in iis facturum esse. Liv.
 l. xxx. n. 25.

country; and arriving at Zama, which is five days march from Carthage, he there pitched his camp. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture of the Romans. Scipio, having seized these, so far from punishing them, only commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order that they might take an exact survey of it, and then sent them back to Hannibal. The latter knew very well whence so noble an assurance flowed. After the strange reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again be propitious. Whilst every one was exciting him to give battle, himself only meditated a peace. He flattered himself that the conditions of it would be more honourable for him, as he was at the head of an army, and as the fate of arms might still appear uncertain. He therefore sent to desire an interview with Scipio, which was accordingly agreed to, and the time and place fixed.

The interview between Hannibal and Scipio in Africa followed by a battle.

(s) These two generals, who were not only the most illustrious of their own age, but worthy of being ranked with the most renowned princes and warriors that had ever lived, meeting at the place appointed, continued for some time in a deep silence, as though they were astonished, and struck with a mutual admiration at the sight of each other. At last Hannibal spoke, and after having praised Scipio in the most artful and delicate manner, he gave a very lively description of the ravages of the war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquished. He conjured him, not to suffer himself to be dazzled by the splendour of his victories. Herepresented to him, that how successful soever he might have hitherto been, he ought however to tremble at the inconstancy of fortune: that without going far back for examples, he himself, who was then speaking to him, was a glaring proof of this: that Scipio was at that time

() A. M. 3803. A. Rom. 547. Polyb. l. xv. p. 694—703. L. v. 1.

what himself (Hannibal) had been at Thrasymene and Cannæ: that he ought to make a better use of opportunity than himself had done, and consent to peace, now it was in his power to propose the conditions of it. He concluded with declaring that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans. That they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa; whilst they should see the Romans extending their conquests to the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio answered in a few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He imputed to them only, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he gave him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions that had been already proposed; to which (he observed) some others would be added, in order to punish the Carthaginians for their having violated the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail with himself to accept these conditions, and the generals left one another with the resolution to decide the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented to his soldiers, the conquests of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the tacit confession the enemies themselves made of their weakness, by thus coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke* with the tone and air of a conqueror. Never were motives more prevalent to prompt troops to behave gallantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals;

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* Cælius hæc corpore vultuque ita læto, ut vicissè jam crederes dicebat.
Liv. l. xxx. n. 32.

rals; and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to prescribe laws to all other nations.

I shall not undertake to describe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both sides. The reader will naturally suppose, that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance, which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obstinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving twenty thousand men on the field of battle, and the like number of prisoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left, but to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio bestowed great eulogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his capacity in taking advantages, his manner of drawing up his army, and giving out his orders in the engagement; and he affirmed, that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself, although the success had not answered his valour and conduct.

With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the consternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, whilst himself prepared to sail the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state, as ambassadors to implore his clemency. However, he dismissed them without making any answer, and bid them come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies of Carthage, being thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. He then called a council there, the majority of which were for raising Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which must necessarily be employed before so strongly fortified a city could be taken; and Scipio's fear lest a successor might be appointed him whilst he should be employed in the siege, made him incline to clemency.

A peace concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans. The end of the second PUNIC WAR.

(1) The conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were, "That the Carthaginians should continue free and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities they possessed in Africa before the war. That they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves, and captives belonging to them; all their ships, except ten triremes; all their tame elephants, and that they should not train up any more for war. — That they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave for that purpose from the Roman people—should restore to Massinissa all they had dispossessed either him or his ancestors of. — Should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries, till their ambassadors should be returned from Rome — Should pay to the Romans ten thousand Euboic talents * of silver in fifty annual payments; and give an hundred hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to send to Rome, it was agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that they should restore the ships taken during the former, without which they were not to expect either a truce or peace."

When the deputies were returned to Carthage, they laid before the senate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared so intolerable to Gisgo, that rising

F 3

up

(1) Polyb. l. xv. p. 704.—707. Liv. l. xxx. n. 36—44.

* Ten thousand Attick talents make Because according to Budæus the thirty millions French money. Ten Euboic talent is equivalent but to thousand Euboic talents make some- fifty-six minæ and something more, thing more than twenty-eight mil- whereas the Attick talent is worth lions, thirty-three thousand livres: sixty minæ.

Or otherwise thus calculated in English money:

According to Budæus. the Euboic talent is - - - 56 Minæ,

56 Minæ reduced to English money - - - 175l.

Consequently 10000 Euboic talents make - - - 175,050000l.

So that the Carthaginians paid annually - - - 35,000l.

This calculation is as near the truth as it can well be brought the Euboic talents being something more than 56 minæ.

A peace

rals ; and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to prescribe laws to all other nations.

I shall not undertake to describe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both sides. The reader will naturally suppose, that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance, which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obstinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving twenty thousand men on the field of battle, and the like number of prisoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left, but to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio bestowed great eulogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his capacity in taking advantages, his manner of drawing up his army, and giving out his orders in the engagement ; and he affirmed, that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself, although the success had not answered his valour and conduct.

With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the consternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, whilst himself prepared to sail the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state, as ambassadors to implore his clemency. However, he dismissed them without making any answer, and bid them come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies of Carthage, being thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. He then called a council there, the majority of which were for rasing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which must necessarily be employed before so strongly fortified a city could be taken ; and Scipio's fear lest a successor might be appointed him whilst he should be employed in the siege, made him incline to clemency.

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A pen

up, he made a speech, in order to dissuade his citizens from accepting a peace on such shameful terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmness with which such an orator was heard, took Gisco by the arm, and dragged him from his seat. A behaviour so outrageous, and so remote from the manners of a free city like Carthage, raised an universal murmur. Hannibal himself was vexed when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology for it. "As I left, says he, your city at
 " nine years of age, and did not return to it till after
 " thirty-six years absence, I had full leisure to learn
 " the arts of war, and flatter myself that I have made
 " some improvement in them. As for your laws and
 " customs, it is no wonder I am ignorant of them, and I
 " therefore desire you to instruct me in them." He then expatiated on the necessity they were under of concluding a peace. He added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even on these conditions. He discovered to them the great importance of their uniting in opinion; and of not giving an opportunity by their divisions, for the people to take an affair of this nature under their cognizance. The whole city came over to his opinion, and accordingly the peace was accepted. The senate made Scipio satisfaction with regard to the ships demanded by him; and after obtaining a truce for three months, they sent ambassadors to Rome.

These Carthaginians who were all venerable for their years and dignity, were admitted immediately to audience. Asdrubal, surnamed Hoedus, who was still an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, spoke first; and after having excused, to the best of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of some particular persons, he added, that, had the Carthaginians listened to his counsels and those of Hannibal, they would have been able to grant the Romans the peace for which they now were obliged to sue. "But*, con-

* *Raro simul hominibus bonam esse, quod in secundis rebus sapientia fortunam bonamque mentem dari. et consulere memineret. Et hoc Populum Romanum eo invictum, esse mirandum fuisse si aliter fac-*

"nued he, wisdom and prosperity are very rarely found
 "together. The Romans are invincible, because they
 "never suffer themselves to be blinded by good for-
 "tune. And it would be suprising should they act
 "otherwise. Success dazzles those only to whom it is new
 "and unusual; whereas the Romans are so much accus-
 "tomed to conquer, that they are almost insensible to the
 "charms of victory; and it may be said for their glory,
 "that they have extended their empire, in some measure,
 "more by the humanity they have shewn to the conquer-
 "ed, then by the conquest itself." The other ambassa-
 "dors spoke with a more plaintive tone of voice, and re-
 "presented the calamitous state to which Carthage was go-
 "ing to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from
 "which it was fallen.

The senate and people being equally inclined to peace,
 sent full powers to Scipio to conclude it; left the condi-
 tions to that general, and permitted him to march back
 his army, after the treaty should be concluded.

The ambassadors desired leave to enter the city to re-
 deem some of their prisoners, and they found about
 two hundred whom they desired to ransom. But the se-
 nate sent them to Scipio, with orders that they should be
 restored without any pecuniary consideration, in case a
 peace should be concluded.

The Carthaginians, on return of their ambassadors,
 concluded a peace with Scipio, on the terms he him-
 self had prescribed. They then delivered up to him more
 than five hundred ships, all which he burnt in sight of
 Carthage: a lamentable sight to the inhabitants of that ill-
 fated city! He struck off the heads of the allies of the
 Latin name, and hanged all the citizens who were sur-
 rendered up to him as deserters.

When the time for the payment of the first tax im-
 posed by the treaty was expired, as the funds of the govern-
 ment

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rent. Ex insolentia, quibus nova
 bona fortunæ sit, impotentes laci-
 tia insanire: populo Romano usi-
 tata ac prope obsoleta ex victoria

gaud'a esse; ac plus pene percen-
 do victis, quam vincendo, impe-
 ri. mauxisse. *Liv. xxx. n. 42.*

ment were exhausted by this long and expensive war; the difficulty which would be found to levy so great a sum, threw the senate into a melancholy silence, and many could not refrain even from tears. It is said that Hannibal laughing was reproached by Asdrubal Hædus, for thus insulting his country in its affliction, which he had brought upon it. "Were it possible, says Hannibal, "for my heart to be seen, and that as clearly as my "countenance, you would then find that this laughter "which offends so much, flows not from an intemperate "joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the publick "calamities. But is this laughter more unseasonable than "your unbecoming tears? Then, then, ought you to "have wept, when your arms were ingloriously taken "from you, your ships burnt, and you were forbid to "engage in any foreign wars. This was the mortal "blow which laid us prostrate.—We are sensible of the "publick calamity so far only as we have a personal concern in it; and the loss of our money gives us the most "pungent sorrow. Hence it was that when our city "was made the spoil of the victor; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations "of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a "groan or a sigh was heard. But now, when you are "called on for a poll tax, you bewail and lament as "if all were lost. Alas! I only wish that the subject "of this day's fear does not soon appear to you the least "of your misfortunes."

Scipio, after all things were concluded, embarked in order to return to Italy. He arrived at Rome, through crowds of people, whom curiosity had drawn together to behold his march. The most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen was decreed him, and the surname of Africanus was bestowed upon this great man; an honour till then unknown, no person before him having assumed the name of a vanquished nation. Such was the conclusion of the second Punic war, (u) after having lasted seventeen years.

A short

(u) A. M. 3804. A. Rom. 646. Ant. J. C. 200.

A short reflection on the government of CARTHAGE, in the time of the second PUNIC WAR.

I shall conclude the particulars which relate to the second Punic war, with a reflection of (x) Polybius, which will show the difference between the two commonwealths. It may be affirmed, in some measure, that at the beginning of the second Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, Carthage was in its decline. The flower of its youth, and its sprightly vigour, were already diminished. It had begun to fall from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclined towards its ruin: whereas Rome was then, as it were in its bloom and strength of life, and swiftly advancing to the conquest of the universe. The reason of the declension of the one, and the rise of the other, is taken, by Polybius, from the different form of government established in these commonwealths, at the time we are now speaking of. At Carthage, the common people had seized upon the sovereign authority with regard to publick affairs, and the advice of their ancient men or magistrates was no longer listened to: all affairs were transacted by intrigue and cabal. To take no notice of the artifices which the faction opposed to Hannibal employed, during the whole time of his command, to perplex him; the single instance of burning the Roman vessels during the truce, a perfidious action to which the common people compelled the senate to lend their name and assistance, is a proof of Polybius's assertion. On the contrary, at this very time, the Romans paid the highest regard to their senate, that is to a body composed of the greatest sages; and their old men were listened to and revered as oracles. It is well known that the Roman people were exceedingly jealous of their authority, and especially in that part of it which related to the election of Magistrates. (y) A century of young men, who by lot were to give

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(x) Lib. vi. p. 493, 494:

(y) Liv. l. xxiv. n. 8. & 9.

the first vote, which generally directed all the rest, had nominated two consuls. On the bare remonstrance of Fabius*, who represented to the people, that in a tempest, like that with which Rome was then struggling, the ablest pilots ought to be chosen to steer their common ship, the republick; upon this, I say, the century returned to their suffrages, and nominated other consuls. Polybius, from this disparity of government, infers, that a people, thus guided by the prudence of old men, could not fail of prevailing over a state which was governed wholly by the giddy multitude. And indeed, the Romans, under the guidance of the wise counsels of their senate, gained at last the superiority with regard to the war considered in general, though they were defeated in several particular engagements; and established their power and grandeur on the ruin of their rivals.

*The interval between the second and third PUNIC
WAR*

This interval, though considerable enough with regard to its duration, since it took up above fifty years, is very little remarkable as to the events which relate to Carthage. They may be reduced to two heads; of which the one relates to the person of Hannibal, and the other to some particular difference between the Carthaginians and Masinissa king of the Numidians. We shall treat both separately, but with no great extent.

SECT. I. *Continuation of the history of HANNIBAL.*

WHEN the second Punic war was ended, by the treaty of peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as he himself observed in the Carthaginian senate,

* Quilibet nautarum rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: ubi fœva orta tempestas est, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est. Non tranquillo

navigamus, sed jam aliquot percellis submersi pene sumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat, summa cura providendum ac præcavendum nobis est.

senate, was forty five years of age. What we have further to say of this great man, includes the space of twenty five years.

HANNIBAL undertakes and completes the reformation of the courts of justice, and the treasure of CARTHAGE.

After the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal, at least in the beginning, was greatly respected in Carthage, where he filled the first employments of the state with honour and applause. (2) He headed the Carthaginian forces in some wars against the Africans: but the Romans, to whom the very name of Hannibal gave uneasiness, not being able to see him in arms, made complaints on that account, and accordingly he was recalled to Carthage.

(a) On his return he was appointed prætor which seems to have been a very considerable employment, as well as of great authority. Carthage is therefore going to be, with regard to him, a new theatre as it were, on which he will display virtues and qualities of a quite different nature from those we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the picture of this illustrious man.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former happy condition, he was persuaded, that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish, were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to all people in general, and a faithful management of the publick finances. The former, by preserving an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such a delightful, undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives, and properties; unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful

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administration

(2) Corn. Nep. in. Annib. c. 7. (a) A. M. 3810. A. Rom. 554.

administration of the publick revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state; keeps in reserve a never-failing resource for sudden emergencies, and prevents the people from being burthened with new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which chiefly contribute to make men harbour an aversion for a government.

Hannibal saw with great concern, the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice, and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated prætor, as his love for regularity and order made him uneasy at every deviation from it, and prompted him to use his utmost endeavours to restore it; he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, which drew after it a numberless multitude of others, without dreading, either the animosity of the old faction that opposed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republick must necessarily raise.

(b) The judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impunity. They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives and fortunes of the citizens; without there being the least possibility of putting a stop to their injustice, because they held their commissions for life. and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as prætor, summoned before his tribunal an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abused his power. Livy tells us that he was a questor. This officer, who was in the opposite faction to Hannibal, and had already assumed all the pride and haughtiness of the judges, among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature tamely. Accordingly he caused him to be seized by a lictor, and brought him before the assembly of the people. There, not satisfied with levelling his resentment against this single officer,

(b) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 46.

officer, he impeached the whole bench of judges; whose insupportable and tyrannical pride was not restrained, either by the fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates. And, as Hannibal perceived that he was heard with pleasure, and that the lowest and most inconsiderable of the people discovered on this occasion that they were no longer able to bear the insolent pride of these judges, who seemed to have a design upon their liberties; he proposed a law (which accordingly passed) by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually; with a clause that none should continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the same time that it acquired him the friendship and esteem of the people, drew upon him, proportionably, the hatred of the greatest part of the grandees and nobility.

(c) He attempted another reformation, which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour. The publick revenues were either squandered away by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city, and the magistrates; so that money being wanting to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people in general. Hannibal, entering into a large detail of the publick revenues, ordered an exact estimate of them to be laid before him; enquired in what manner they had been applied; the employments and ordinary expences of the state; and having discovered, by this enquiry, that the publick funds had been in a great measure embezzled, by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them, he declared and promised in a full assembly of the people, that, without laying any new taxes upon private men, the republick should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute to the Romans, and he was as good as his word. The farmers of the revenues, whose plunder and rapine he had publicly detected, having accustomed themselves
hitherto

hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, exclaimed * vehemently against these regulations, as if their own property had been forced out of their hands, and not the sums they had plundered from the publick.

The retreat and death of HANNIBAL.

(d) This double reformation of abuses raised great clamours against Hannibal. His enemies were writing incessantly to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them that he was carrying on a secret intelligence with Antiochus king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately dispatched agents to Hannibal, to concert, with him, the measures for carrying on the war he was meditating: that as some animals are so extremely fierce, that it is impossible ever to tame them, in like manner this man was of so turbulent and implacable a spirit, that he could not brook ease, and therefore would, sooner or later, break out again. These informations were listened to at Rome; and as the transactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almost solely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. However, Scipio, strongly opposed the violent measures which the senate were going to take, on their receiving this intelligence, by representing it as derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies; to support, with their authority, their unjust passions; and obstinately to pursue him even to the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him sufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But notwithstanding these prudent remonstrances, the senate appointed three commissioners to go and make

(d) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 45—49.

* Tum vero isti quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, velut bonis creptis, non furto eorum manibus extorto, infensi & irati, Romanos in Annibalem, & ipsos causam eorum querentes, instigabant. *Liv.*

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make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other things were speciously pretended, yet Hannibal was perfectly sensible that himself was only aimed at. The evening being come, he conveyed himself on board a ship, which he had secretly provided for that purpose; on which occasion he bewailed his country's fate more than his own. *Sapius patriæ quam* suorum eventus miseratus.* This was the eighth year after the conclusion of the peace. The first place he landed at was Tyre, where he was received as in his second country, and had all the honours paid him which were due to his exalted merit. (e) After staying some time here, he set out for Antioch, which the king had lately left, and from thence waited upon him at Ephesus. The arrival of so renowned a general gave great pleasure to the king; and did not a little contribute to determine him to engage in war against Rome; for hitherto he had appeared wavering and uncertain on that head. (f) In this city a philosopher, who was looked upon as the greatest orator of Asia, had the imprudence to harangue before Hannibal, on the duties of a general, and the rules of the art military. The speech charmed the whole audience. But Hannibal, being asked his opinion of it, "I have seen, says he, many old doctards in my life, but this exceeds them all †."

The Carthaginians, justly fearing that Hannibal's escape would certainly draw upon them the arms of the Romans, sent them advice that Hannibal was withdrawn to Antiochus.

(e) A. M. 3312. A. Rom. 556.

(f) Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76.

* *It should, methinks, be suos.*

† Hic Pœnus libere respondisse fertur, multos se deliros senes sæpe vidisse: Sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidisse neminem. Stobæus, Serm. lii. gives the following account of this matter, Ἀντ. α. ἀνδρα; Στοῖκῶ τινι ἐπι-
λεγεινῶ, ὅτι ὁ σο; δὲ μόνῳ στρατη-

γῶ; εἶν, ἐγέλασε, ἰο. ἰζ' ὡν ἀδυνάτῳ εἶναι ἐκτο; γῆς δι' ἔργων ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμη; ἔχειν. i. e. Hannibal bearing a Stoick philosopher undertake to prove that the wise man was the only general, laughed, as thinking it impossible for a man to have any skill in war, without being long practised in it.

Antiochus*. The Romans were very much disturbed at this news, and the king might have turned it extremely to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it.

(g) The first counsel that Hannibal gave him at this time, and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was, to make Italy the seat of the war. He required an hundred ships, eleven or twelve thousand land forces, and offered to take upon himself the command of the fleet; to cross into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war; and afterwards to make a descent upon Italy, during which the king himself should be ready to cross over, with his army, into Italy, whenever it should be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king approved very much the proposal at first.

(h) Hannibal thought it would be expedient to prepare his friends at Carthage, in order to engage them the more strongly in his interest. The transmitting of particulars, by letters, is not only unsafe, but also gives an imperfect idea of things, and is never sufficiently particular. He therefore dispatched a trusty person with ample instructions to Carthage. This man was scarce arrived in the city, but his business was suspected. Accordingly, he was watched and followed; and, at last, orders were issued for his being seized. However, he prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and escaped in the night; after having fixed, in several publick places, papers, which fully declared the occasion of his coming among them. The senate immediately sent advice of this to the Romans.

(i) Villius, one of the deputies who had been sent into Asia, to enquire into the state of affairs there, and, if possible, to discover the real designs of Antiochus, found Hannibal in Ephesus. He had many conferences with him,

(g) Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 60. (h) Ib. n. 61. (i) Ib. l. xxxv. n. 14. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167.

* They did more, for they sent two ships to pursue Hannibal, and bring him back; they sold off his goods, rased his house; and, by a publick decree, declared him an exile. Such was the gratitude the Carthaginians showed to the greatest general they ever had. Corn. Nep. in vita Hannib. c. 7.

him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to show him particular esteem on all occasions. But his chief aim by all this artificial behaviour, was to make him be suspected, and to lessen his credit with the king, in which he succeeded but too well*.

(k) Some authors affirm, that Scipio was joined in this embassy ; and they even relate the conversation which that general had with Hannibal. They tell us that the Roman having asked him, who, in his opinion, was the greatest captain that had ever lived ; he answered, Alexander the Great, because with a handful of Macedonians, he had defeated numberless armies, and carried his conquests into countries so very remote, that it seemed scarce possible for any man only to travel so far. Being afterwards asked, to whom he gave the second rank ; he answered, to Pyrrhus : for this king, says Hannibal, first understood the art of pitching a camp to advantage ; no commander had ever made a more judicious choice of his posts, was better skilled in drawing up his forces, or was more happy in winning the affection of foreign soldiers ; insomuch that even the people of Italy were more desirous of having him for their governor than the Romans themselves, though they had so long been subject to them. Scipio proceeding, asked him next, whom he looked upon as the third captain ; on which decision Hannibal made no scruple to give the preference to himself. Here Scipio could not forbear laughing : “ but what would you have said, (continued Scipio) had you conquered me ? ” — “ I would, replied Hannibal, have ranked myself above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced.” Scipio was not insensible of so refined and delicate a flattery, which he no ways expected ;

(k) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14. Plutarch. in vita Flamin. &c.

* Polybius represents this application of Villius to Hannibal, as a premeditated design, in order to render him suspected to Antiochus, because of his intimacy with a Roman. Livy owns, that the affair succeeded as if it had been designed ; but, at the

same time, he gives for a very obvious reason, another turn to this conversation, and says that no more was intended by it, than to sound Hannibal, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the Romans.

pected; and which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him.

The answer as told by (l) Plutarch, is less witty, and not so probable. In this author, Hannibal gives Pyrrhus the first place, Scipio the second, and himself the third.

(m) Hannibal sensible of the coldness with which Antiochus received him, ever since his conferences with Villius or Scipio, took no notice of it for some time, and seemed insensible of it. But at last he thought it advisable to come to an eclaircissement with the king, and to open his mind freely to him. "The hatred (says he) which I bear to the Romans, is known to the whole world. I bound myself to it by an oath, from my most tender infancy. It was this hatred that made me draw the sword against Rome during thirty-six years. It was that, even in times of peace, drove me from my native country, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fired by the same passion, should my hopes be eluded, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them, will hate them eternally; and know that they bear me no less animosity. So long as you shall continue in the resolution to take up arms against that people, you may rank Hannibal in the number of your best friends. But, if other counsels incline you to peace, I declare to you, once for all, address yourself to others for counsel, and not to me." Such a speech, which came from his heart, and expressed the greatest sincerity, struck the king, and seemed to remove all his suspicions; so that he now resolved to give Hannibal a command of part of his fleet.

(n) But what havock is not flattery capable of making in courts and in the minds of princes? Antiochus was told, "that it was imprudent in him to put so much confidence in Hannibal, an exile, a Carthaginian, whose

(l) Plut. in Pyrrho, p. 687. (m) Ibid n. 19.

(n) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 42, 43.

“ fortune or genius might suggest, in one day, a thousand different projects to him: that besides, his very fame which Hannibal had acquired in war, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for a man who fought only under the ensigns of another: that none but the king ought to be the general, and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on him to draw upon himself only the eyes and attention of all men; whereas should Hannibal be employed, he (a foreigner) would have the glory of all victories ascribed to him.” *No minds, says Livy, on this occasion, are more susceptible of envy, than those whose merit is below their birth and dignity; such persons always abhorring virtue and worth in others, for this reason only, because they are strange and foreign to themselves.* This observation was fully verified on this occasion. Antiochus had been taken on his weak side; a low and fordid jealousy, which is the defect and characteristick of little minds, extinguished every generous sentiment in that monarch. Hannibal was now slighted and laid aside: however, the latter was greatly revenged on Antiochus, by the ill success this prince met with; and showed, how unfortunate that king is, whose soul is accessible to envy, and his ears open to the poisonous insinuation of flatterers.

(c) In a council held some time after, to which Hannibal, for form sake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to speak, endeavoured chiefly to prove, that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be invited into the alliance of Antiochus, which was not so difficult as might be imagined, “ With regard, says Hannibal, to the operations of the war, I adhere immoveably to my first opinion; and had my counsels been listened to before, Tuscany and Liguria would now be all in a flame; and Hannibal (a name that strikes terror into the Romans) in Italy. Though I should not be very
“ well

(c) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 7.

* Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidium sunt, quam eorum qui genus afortunatum suam animis non æquam: quia virtutem & bonum alienum odierunt. *It thinks it is better to read ut bonum alienum.*

“ well skilled as to other matters, yet the good and
 “ ill success I have met with, must necessarily have taught
 “ me sufficiently how to carry on a war against the
 “ Romans. I have nothing now in my power, but
 “ to give you my counsel, and offer you my service.
 “ May the gods give success to all your undertakings.”
 Hannibal’s speech was received with applause, but not
 one of his counsels were put in execution.

(*p*) Antiochus, imposed upon and lulled asleep by his
 flatterers, remained quiet at Ephesus, after the Romans
 had driven him out of Greece ; not once imagining that
 they would ever invade his dominions. Hannibal, who
 was now restored to favour, was for ever assuring him,
 that the war would soon be removed into Asia, and that
 he would soon see the enemy at his gates : that he
 must resolve, either to abdicate his throne, or oppose
 vigorously a people who grasped at the empire of the
 world. This discourse waked, in some little measure,
 the king out of his lethargy, and prompted him to
 make some weak efforts. But as his conduct was unstea-
 dy, after sustaining a great many considerable losses, he
 was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace ;
 one of the articles of which was, that he should deliver up
 Hannibal to the Romans. However, the latter did not give
 him opportunity to put it into execution, retiring to the
 island of Crete, to consider there what course it would be
 best for him to take.

(*q*) The riches he had brought along with him, of
 which the people of the island had got some notice, had
 like to have proved his ruin. Hannibal was never want-
 ing in stratagems, and he had occasion to employ them
 now, to save both himself and his treasure. He filled se-
 veral vessels with molten lead, which he just covered over
 with gold and silver. These he deposited in the temple of
 Diana, in presence of several Cretans, to whose honesty, he
 said, he confided all his treasure. A strong guard was then
 posted on the temple, and Hannibal left full at liberty, from a
 supposition

(*p*) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41.
 Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

(*q*) Cornel. Nep. in Annib. c. 9 & 10.

supposition that his riches were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow statues of brass *, which he always carried along with him. (r) And then, embracing a favourable opportunity he had of making his escape, he fled to the court of Prusias king of Bithynia.

It appears from history, that he made some stay in the court of this prince, who soon engaged in war with Eumenes king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. By means of Hannibal, the troops of king Prusias gained several victories both by land and sea.

(s) He employed a stratagem, of an extraordinary kind in a sea fight. The enemy's fleet, consisting of more ships than his, he had recourse to artifice. He put into earthen vessels, all kinds of serpents, and ordered these vessels to be thrown into the enemy's ships. His chief aim in this was to destroy Eumenes; and for that purpose it was necessary for him to find out which ship he was on board of. This Hannibal discovered, by sending out a boat, upon pretence of conveying a letter to him. Having gained his point thus far, he ordered the commanders of the respective vessels to employ the chief force of their attacks against Eumenes's ship. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not outailed his pursuers. The rest of the ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels had been thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this, and were very much surprised to find such weapons employed against them. But seeing themselves surrounded with serpents which came out of these vessels, when they flew to pieces, they were seized with dread, retired in disorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

(t) Services of so important a nature, seemed to secure for ever to Hannibal an undisturbed asylum at that prince's court. However, the Romans would not suffer him to be easy there, but deputed Q. Flaminius to Prusias, to complain

(r) A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 564.

(s) Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

(s) Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Corn. Nep. in vit. Annib.

(t) A. M. 3322, A. Rom. 566. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51.

* These statues were thrown out by him, in a place of public resort, as things of little value. Corn. Nep.

complain of the protection he gave Hannibal. The latter easily guessed the motive of this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. At first he attempted to secure himself by flight; but perceiving that the seven secret outlets, which he had contrived in his palace, were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by this perfidy, was desirous of making his court to the Romans; he ordered the poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion, to be brought him, and taking it in his hand. "Let us, said he, free the Romans from the disquiet with which they have so long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory which Flaminius gains over a naked betrayed man, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers sent notice to Pyrrhus, to desire he would beware of a traitor who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was at war with them in the very centre of Italy; but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity, to spirit up Prusias, impiously to murder one, who is not only his friend, but his guest." After calling down curses upon Prusias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison *, and died at seventy years of age.

This year was remarkable for the death of three great men, Hannibal, Philopœmen, and Scipio, who had this in common, that they all died out of their native countries, by a death little correspondent to the glory of their actions. The two first died by poison; Hannibal was betrayed by his host; and Philopœmen being taken prisoner, in a battle against the Messenians, and

thrown

* *Plutarch, according to his custom assigns him three different deaths. Some, says he, relate, that having wrapped his cloak about his neck, he ordered his servant to fix his knees against his buttocks, and not to leave resting till he had strangled him.*

Others say, that in imitation of Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. Livy tells us, that Hannibal drank a poison which he always carried about him; and taking the cup into his hands, cried, Let us live, &c. In vita Flamini.

thrown into a dungeon, was forced to swallow a dose of poison. As to Scipio, he banished himself, to avoid an unjust prosecution which was carrying on against him at Rome, and ended his days in a kind of obscurity.

The Character and Eulogium of HANNIBAL.

This would be the proper place for representing the excellent qualities of Hannibal, who reflected so much glory on Carthage. But as I have attempted to draw his character * elsewhere, and to give a just idea of him, by making a comparison between him and Scipio, I think myself dispensed from giving his eulogium at large in this place.

Persons, who devote themselves to the profession of arms, cannot spend too much time in the study of this great man, who is looked upon by judges, as the most complete general, in almost every respect, that ever the world produced.

During the whole seventeen years (the time the war lasted) two errors, only, are objected to him: first, his not marching, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, his victorious army to Rome, in order to besiege that city: secondly, his suffering their courage to be softened and enervated, during their winter quarters in Capua: errors, which only show, that great men are not so in all things; † *summi enim sunt, homines tamen*; and which, perhaps, may be partly excused.

But then for these two errors, what a multitude of shining qualities appear in Hannibal! How extensive were his views and designs, even in his most tender years! What greatness of soul! What intrepidity! What presence of mind must he have possessed, to be able, even in the fire and heat of action, to take all advantages! With what surprising address must he have managed the minds of men, that, amidst so great a variety of nations which composed his army, who often were in want both

of

* Vol. II. *Of the method of studying and teaching the Belles Lettres.*
† Quintil.

of money and provisions, his camp was not once disturbed with an insurrection, either against himself or any of his generals ! With what equity, what moderation must he have behaved towards his new allies, to have prevailed so far, as to attach them inviolably to his service, though he was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burthen of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their several countries ! In fine, how fruitful must he have been in expedients, to be able to carry on, for so many years, a war in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made by a powerful domestick faction, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions ! It may be affirmed, that Hannibal, during the whole series of this war, seemed the only prop of the state, and the soul of every part of the empire of the Carthaginians, who could never believe themselves conquered till Hannibal confessed that he himself was so.

But that man must know the character of Hannibal very imperfectly, who should consider him only at the head of armies. The particulars we learn from history, concerning the secret intelligence he held with Philip of Macedon ; the wise counsels he gave to Antiochus, king of Syria ; the double regulation he introduced in Carthage, with regard to the management of the publick revenues, and the administration of justice, prove, that he was a great statesman in every respect. So superior and universal was his genius, that it took in all parts of government ; and so great were his natural abilities, that he was capable to acquit himself in all the various functions of it with glory. Hannibal shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field ; equally able to fill the civil or the military employments. In a word, he united in his own person, the different talents and merits of all professions ; the sword, the gown, and the finances.

He had some learning ; and though he was so much employed in military labours, and engaged in so many wars, he, however, found leisure to cultivate the muses *. Several

* *Atque hic tantus vir, tantisque bellis districtus, non nihil temporis tribuit litteris, &c. Corn. Nep. in vita Annib. cap. 13.*

ral smart repartees of Hannibal, which have been transmitted to us, show, that he had a great fund of natural wit; and this he improved by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, in such a republick as Carthage. He spoke Greek tolerably well, and wrote some books in that language. His præceptor was a Lacedæmonian (Solsius) who, with Philenius, another Lacedæmonian, accompanied him in all his expeditions. Both these undertook to write the history of this renowned warrior.

With regard to his religion and moral conduct, he was so not profligate and wicked as he is represented by (u) Livy, "cruel even to inhumanity, more perfidious than a Carthaginian; regardless of truth, of probity, of the sacred ties of oaths; fearless of the gods, and utterly void of religion." *Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plusquam Punica; nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.* (x) According to Polybius he rejected a barbarous proposal that was made him before he entered Italy, and this was to eat human flesh, at a time when his army was in absolute want of provisions. (y) Some years after, so far from treating with barbarity, as he was advised to do, the dead body of Sempronius Gracchus which Mago had sent him; he caused his funeral obsequies to be solemnised in presence of the whole army. We have seen him on many occasions, showing the highest reverence for the gods; and (z) Justin, who copied Trogos Pompeius, an author worthy of credit, observes, that he always showed uncommon wisdom and continence, with regard to the great number of women taken by him during the course of so long a war; inso-much that no one would have imagined he had been born in Africa, where incontinence is the predominant vice of the country. *Pudicitiamque eum tantam inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.*

His disregard of wealth, at a time when he had so many opportunities to enrich himself by the plunder

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of

(u) Lib. xxi. n. 4. (x) Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 33. (y) Excerpt. e Diod. p. 282. Liv. l. xxx. n. 17. (z) Lib. xxxii c. 4.

of the cities he stormed, and the nations he subdued, shows, that he knew the true and genuine use which a general ought to make of riches, *viz.* to gain the affections of his soldiers, and to attach allies to his interest, by diffusing his beneficence on proper occasions, and not being sparing of his rewards: a very essential quality, and at the same time as uncommon in a commander. The only use Hannibal made of money was to purchase success; firmly persuaded that a man who is at the head of affairs, is sufficiently recompensed by the glory derived from victory.

* He always led a very regular, austere life; and even in times of peace, and in the midst of Carthage, when he was invested with the first dignity of the city, we are told that he never used to recline himself on a bed at meals, as was the custom in those ages, and drank but very little wine. So regular and uniform a life may serve as an illustrious example to our commanders, who often include, among the privileges of war, and the duty of officers, the keeping of splendid tables, and living luxuriously.

But notwithstanding these eulogiums, I do not however pretend to justify entirely all the errors and defects with which Hannibal is charged. Though he possessed an assemblage of the most exalted qualities, it cannot be denied but that he had some little tincture of the vices of his country; and that it would be difficult to excuse some actions and circumstances of his life. (a) Polybius observes, that Hannibal was accused of avarice in Carthage, and cruelty in Rome. He adds, on the same occasion, that people were very much divided in opinion concerning him; and it would be no wonder, as he had made himself so many enemies in both cities, that they should have drawn him in disadvantageous colours. But Polybius is of opinion, that though it should be taken for

(a) Excerpt. e. Polyb. p. 34 & 37.

* Cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus, finitus. Liv. l. xxi n. 4.

Constat Annibalem nec tum cum Romano tonantem bello Ita-

lia contremuit, nec cum reversis Carthaginem summum imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cœnasse, aut plus quam sextario vini indulgisse. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

for granted, that all the defects with which he is charged are true ; we yet ought to conclude, that they were not so much owing to his nature and disposition, as to the difficulties with which he was surrounded, in the course of so long and laborious a war ; and to the complacency he was obliged to show to the general officers, whose assistance he absolutely wanted, for the execution of his various enterprises ; and whom he was not always able to restrain, any more than he could the soldiers who fought under them.

SECT. II. *Dissensions between the CARTHAGINIANS and MASINISSA king of Numidia.*

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which imported, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war ; and further, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had shown with regard to the Romans, had added to his dominions those of Syphax. This presently afterwards gave rise to disputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The subjects of Syphax were called Masæuli, and their capital was Cirtha. Those of Masinissa were the Masfyli : but both these nations are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. They always rid without saddles, and some even without bridles, whence * Virgil called them *Numidæ infræni*..

(b) In the beginning of the second Punic war, Syphax siding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Masinissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, thought it his interest to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly sent out against Syphax a powerful army under the conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age. Syphax

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(b) Liv. l. xxiv. n. 48, 49. * Æn. l. iv. ver. 41.

phax being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost thirty thousand men, escaped into Mauritania. However, the face of things was afterwards greatly changed.

(c) Masinissa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin; being driven from his kingdom by an usurper; pursued warmly by Syphax; in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies; destitute of forces, money, and almost all things. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time was attached inviolably to the Roman interest. (d) Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.

(e) The fate of these two princes now changed once for all. Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophonisba, whose charms and endearments he was unable to resist. To secure this princess to himself, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to send her a dose of poison, as her nuptial present; this being the only way left him to keep his promise with his queen, and preserve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a considerable error in itself, and which must necessarily disoblige a nation that was so jealous of its authority: but this young prince repaired it gloriously by the signal services he afterwards did Scipio. (f) We observed, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all he possessed before. This gave rise to the divisions we are now going to relate.

A ter-

(c) Liv. l. xxix. n. 29—34.

(d) Ibid. l. xxix. n. 23.

(e) Idem, l. xxx. n. 11, 12.

(f) Ibid. n. 44.

(g) A territory situated towards the sea-side, near the lesser Syrtis, was the subject of these contests. The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful, a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis (only) which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians, by way of tribute. Masinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side dispatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cause of their superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any resolution, and left the business in the same uncertain state in which they had found it. Possibly they had acted in this manner by order of the senate, and had received private instructions to favour Masinissa, who was then possessed of the district in question.

(h) Ten years after new commissioners having been appointed to examine the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole affair undetermined.

(i) After the like distance of time, the Carthaginians again brought their complaint to the senate, but with greater importunity than before. They represented, that besides the lands at first contested, Masinissa had, during the two preceding years, dispossessed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles. That their hands were bound up by the article of the last treaty, which forbade their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans; that they could no longer bear the insolence, the avarice, and cruelty of that prince: that they were deputed to Rome with three requests (which they desired might be immediately complied with) viz. either to get orders to have the affair examined and decided by the senate: or, secondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themselves by arms, or lastly, that, if favour was to prevail over justice, they then entreated the Romans to specify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be vested in

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Masinissa

(g) Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 62. (h) A. M. 3823. A. Rom. 567. Id. l. xl. n. 17. (i) A. M. 3833. A. Rom. 577. Id. l. xlii. n. 23, 24.

Masinissa, that they, by this means might hereafter know what they had to depend on ; and that the Roman people would have some regard to them, at a time that this prince set no other bounds to his pretensions, but his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans, that if the Carthaginians had been guilty of any crimes (with regard to them) since the conclusion of the last peace, that they themselves would punish them for it ; and not give them to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, being pierced with grief, they fell prostrate upon the earth, and burst into tears ; a spectacle that moved all who were present to compassion, and raised a violent hatred against Masinissa. Gulussa his son, who was then present, being asked what he had to reply ; he answered, that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect, that the circumstance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was, the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to them. The senate, after hearing both sides answered, that they were inclined to do justice to that party to whom it was due : that Gulussa should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded to send deputies with those of Carthage : that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians : that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved ; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians dispossessed, during the peace, of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents.

(k) But all these assurances were but mere words. It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the least justice ; and

and that they spun out the business, on purpose to give Masinissa an opportunity to establish in his usurpation, and weaken his enemies.

(*l*) A new deputation was sent to examine the affair upon the spot, and Cato was one of the commissioners. On their arrival, they asked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Masinissa readily complied. The Carthaginians, answered, that they had fixed a rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded by Scipio, and desired that their cause might be examined with all possible rigour. They therefore could not come to any decision. The deputies visited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage: and they were surprised to see it, after being involved in such a calamity, again raised to so exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The senate was told of this, immediately on the return of the deputies; and declared Rome could never be in safety, so long as Carthage should subsist. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, *I conclude that Carthage ought to be destroyed*. This grave senator did not give himself the trouble to prove, that bare jealousy of the growing power of a neighbouring state is a warrant sufficient for destroying a city contrary to the faith of treaties. But Scipio Nasica was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; because that the Romans, having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient severity of their manners, and abandon themselves to luxury and pleasures, the never failing subverters of the most flourishing empires.

(*m*) In the mean time divisions broke out in Carthage. The popular faction, being now become superior to that of the grandees and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment; and bound the people by an

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oath,

(*l*) A. M. 3848. A. Rom. 592. App. de bell. Pun. p. 37.

(*m*) App. p. 33.

oath, never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who dispatched Gulussa and Misipsa, his two sons, to Carthage, to solicit their return. However, the gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republick. This gave occasion to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was spectator of it. He had been sent from Lucullus in Spain, under whom Scipio then fought, to Masinissa, to desire some elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill; and was surpris'd to see Masinissa, then eighty-eight years of age, mounted (agreeably to the custom of his country) on a horse without a saddle; flying from rank to rank like a young officer, and sustaining the most arduous toils. The fight was very obstinate, and continued all day, but at last the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio us'd to say afterwards, that he had been present at many battles, but at none with so much pleasure as this; having never before beheld so formidable an army engage, without any danger or trouble to himself. And being very conversant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till his time, there were but two more who had been spectators of such an action, *viz.* Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the sight of an hundred thousand men (for so many there were) butchering one another, can administer a real pleasure; or, whether such a pleasure is consistent with the sentiments of humanity, so natural to mankind.

(n) The Carthaginians, after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their conquests with Masinissa. Accordingly he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians consented to yield up the territory of Emporium,

Emporium*. which had been the first cause of their division; to pay Masinissa two hundred talents of silver down, and eight hundred more, at such times as should be agreed, But Masinissa insisting on the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants, for which he had been sent.

(k) The king, immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor provisions could come to them. During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel, in case the king should be defeated; otherwise to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the strongest assurances of the continuation of their friendship; and this they did. In the mean time, the famine daily increased in the enemy's camp, which being heightened by the plague, occasioned a new calamity, and made dreadful havock. Being now reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him five thousand talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oaths to the contrary. They all submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke †, and were dismissed, with only one suit of clothes for each. Gullussa, to satiate his vengeance for the ill treatment, as

G 5.

we:

(k) App: de bell. Pun. p. 40.

* The Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Lesser Syrtis in which Leptis stood, No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this. Polybius, l. 1. says, that the revenue that arose from this place, was so considerable, that all their hopes were almost founded on it, &c. (viz. their revenues from Emporia) ἐλχοι ἀς πᾶς, ὡς ἐλπίς. To it it was owing their care and state-jalousy above-mentioned, lest the Romans should sail

beyond the fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a country which might induce them to attempt the conquest of it.

† Il s'enfurent tous passer sous le joug: Sub. jugum missi; a kind of gallows (made by two forked sticks, standing upright) was erected, and a spear laid a cross under which vanquished enemies were obliged to pass. Festus.

we before observed, he had met with; sent out against them a body of cavalry, whom from their great weakness, they could neither escape nor resist. So that of fifty-eight thousand men, very few returned to Carthage.

The third PUNIC War.

(o) The third Punic war, which was less considerable than either of the former, with regard to the number and greatness of the battles, and its continuance, which was only four years, was still more remarkable with respect of the success and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and destruction of Carthage.

(p) The inhabitants of it, from their last defeat, knew what they might naturally fear from the Romans, from whom they had always met with the most rigorous treatment after they had addressed them upon their deputies with Masinissa. To prevent the consequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the senate, impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo commander* of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high-treason, for being the author of the war against the king of Numidia. They then sent a deputation to Rome, to enquire what opinion that republick entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were coldly answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. (q) A second deputation bringing them no clearer answer, they fell into the greatest dejection; and being seized with the strongest terrours, upon recollecting their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themselves

(o) A. M. 3855. A. Carth. 697. A. Rom. 599. Ant. J. C. 149.

(p) Appian, p. 41, 42.

(q) Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 252.

* The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their respective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian, Bonax.

selves all the dismal consequences of a long siege and of a city taken sword in hand.

(r) In the mean time, the senate debated at Rome, on the measures it would be proper for them to take; and the disputes between Cato and Scipio Nasica, who were of a quite different opinion on this subject, were renewed. The former, on his return from Africa, had declared in the strongest terms, that he had not found Carthage exhausted of men or money, nor in that weak and humble state, as the Romans supposed it to be; but, on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immense quantities of gold and silver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike stores; and was so haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is further said, that after he had ended his speech, he threw, out of the lappet of his Robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs; and as the senators admired their beauty and size, (s) *Know, says he, that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us.*

(t) Cato and Nasica had each of them their reasons for voting as they did. Nasica, observing that the people rose to such a height of insolence, as threw them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them with a pride which the senate itself was not able to check; and that their power was become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every bad design they might undertake; Nasica, I say, observing this, was desirous that they should continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might serve as a curb to restrain their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans; and, at the same time, so powerful, that it was not for the interest of the Romans, to consider them in a

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contemptible

(r) Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 352.

(s) Plin. l. xv. c. 11.

(t) Plut. ibid. in vita, Cat.

contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought, that as his countrymen were become haughty and insolent by success, and plunged headlong into dissolution of every kind; nothing could be more dangerous, than for it to have a rival city (to whom the Romans were odious); a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and therefore that it would not be safe to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power; since they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities for indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine, which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims of sound policy, and the true interest of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all historians have observed, that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage*: That vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared barefaced, and seized, with astonishing rapidity, all orders of the republick; that senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness, without having the least regard to, or sense of decency, which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. “The first Scipio†, says Paterculus, speaking of the Romans, had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, had opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness.

* Ubi Carthago, & æmula imperii Romani: ab stirpe interiit, Fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit. *Salust. in bell. Catalin.*

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus & senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se Remp. tractabant—Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, illic ea, quæ se-

cundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. *Idem. in bello Jugurthino.*

† Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu a virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum. *Vid. Paterc. l. ii. c. 1.*

"luteness. For after Carthage, which obliged Rome
 "to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire
 "with that city, had been totally destroyed; the depravity of manners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once into the utmost excess of
 "corruption."

(u) Be this as it will, the senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons or pretences urged for it were, their keeping up ships, contrary to the tenor of treaties; their sending an army out of their territories against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they treated ill, at the time he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.

(x) An event, that chance occasioned very fortunately, at the time that the senate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, contributed, doubtless, very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had an equally spacious and commodious port; it stood within sixty furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but proclaimed war. M. Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate, not to end the war, but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand foot, and about four thousand horse.

(y) The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome. The answer brought back by their deputies, had only increased their fears, viz. *It was the business of the Carthaginians, to consider what satisfaction was due to them* *. This made them

(u) App. p. 42.

Pun. p. 42.

(x) A. M. 3855. A. Rom. 600. App. bell.

(y) Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

* To the Romans.

them not know what course to take. At last, they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should see fitting; and even (what the former wars could never make them stoop to) to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was submitting themselves, without reserve, to the power of the Romans, and becoming their vassals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying; because, as the Uticans had been before-hand with them on that occasion, this had deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was set out. The Romans had dispatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate; and to inform that city, that the Roman fleet was sailed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other possessions, whether publick or private, provided that, within the space of thirty days, they should send (as hostages to Lilybæum) three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with inexpressible anxiety: but the concern they were under would not allow them to make the least reply, or to demand an explication; nor indeed would it have been to any purpose. They therefore set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

(z) All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians, but the silence of the Romans, with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions which that people was willing

to

to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent losses the Carthaginians had sustained they were by no means in a condition to resist such an enemy, since they had not been able to oppose Mafiniffa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.

They did not think it proper to wait till the thirty days which had been allowed them were expired, but immediately sent their hostages, in order to soften the enemy, by the readiness of their obedience, though they durst not flatter themselves with the hopes of meeting with favour on this occasion. These hostages were in a manner the flower, and the only hopes of the noblest families of Carthage. No spectacle was ever more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing seen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But above all, the unhappy mothers, quite bathed in tears, tore their dishevelled hair, beat their breasts, and, as if grief and despair had distracted them, they yelled in such a manner, as might have moved the most savage breasts to compassion. But the scene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their separation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ship, they bid them a long, last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more; wept a flood of tears over them; embraced them with the utmost fondness; clasped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breasts. The hostages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the consuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republick.

(a) In such a situation of affairs, nothing can be more grievous than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, images to the mind the blackest scenes of misery. As soon as it was known, that the fleet

fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; signifying, that they were come in the name of their republick, in order to receive the commands which they were ready to obey. The consul, after praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the sad condition to which he was reducing them, in the time that Asdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause but their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, had advanced, almost to their gates, with an army of twenty thousand men. The answer returned them was, that the Romans would set that matter right.

(b) This order was immediately put in execution. There arrived in the camp, a long train of waggons, loaded with all the preparations of war, taken out of Carthage: two hundred thousand complete sets of armour, a numberless multitude of darts and javelins, with two thousand engines for shooting darts and stones*. Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the most venerable senators and priests, who came purposely to try to move the Romans to compassion in this critical moment, when their sentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreversible. Censorinus the consul, for it was he that spoke all this time, rose up for a moment at their coming, and expressed some kindness and affection for them; but suddenly assuming a grave and severe countenance: "I cannot, says he, but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions, as you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eighty stadia† from the sea."

(c) The instant the consul had pronounced this fulminating decree, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but

(b) Appian. p. 46.

* *Balistæ* or *Catapultæ*.

(c) Ibid. p. 46-53.

† *Four leagues, or twelve miles.*

but lamentable shrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunder-struck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their clothes, and unable to vent their grief any otherwise, but by broken sighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice with regard to a people, who would soon be reduced to the extremes of despair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were such beings as avenging deities, whose severe eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far, as to get the execution of this order suspended, till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, if possible, to get it revoked. They were forced to set out immediately, and carry the answer to Carthage.

(d) The people waited for their return with such an impatience and terror, as words could never express. It was scarce possible for them to break through the crowd, that flocked round them, to hear the answer, which was but too strongly painted in their faces. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general shriek informed the people of their too lamentable fate; and, from that instant nothing was seen and heard in every part of the city, but howling and despair, madness and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the course of the history for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is a great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, should end exactly in the most affecting part of this event. I should set a much higher value on one short reflection of
so

so judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian ascribes to the deputies and the consul. I can never believe, that so rational, judicious, and just a man as Polybius, could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the present occasion. We do not here discover, in my opinion, any of the characteristics which distinguished them anciently; that greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of the Roman genius; *Minime Romanis artibus*. Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty (a most solemn and sacred thing) that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws; and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the intire ruin of both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word city in this treaty, the black design of destroying Carthage; as if, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they might destroy it with justice? In fine, why did the Romans not make their last declaration, till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hostages and arms; that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their most arbitrary commands? Is it not manifest, that Carthage, notwithstanding all its defeats and losses, though it was weakened and almost exhausted, was still a terrou to the Romans, and that they were persuaded, they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power as may enable one to commit injustice with impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shows, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

(e) The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans differs widely from what was practised here. These people, says he, far from using artifice and deceit with regard to their allies, in order to enlarge their power, did

did not think themselves allowed to employ them even against their enemies, considering only those victories as solid and glorious, which were obtained sword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns in the same place, that there then remained among the Romans, but very faint traces of the ancient generosity of their ancestors; and he thinks it incumbent on him (as he declares) to make this remark, in opposition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time, among persons in the administration of governments, who imagined, that honesty is inconsistent with good policy; and that it is impossible to succeed in the administration of state affairs, either in war or peace, without using fraud and deceit on some occasions.

(f) I now return to my subject. The consuls made no great haste to march against Carthage, not suspecting they had reason to be under any apprehensions from that city as it was now disarmed. However, the inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay, to put themselves in a posture of defence, being all unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general, without the walls, Asdrubal, who was at the head of twenty thousand men: and to whom deputies were sent accordingly, to intreat him to forget, for his country's sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops, within the walls, was given to another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themselves in making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made an hundred and forty shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes or javelins, a thousand arrows, and a great number of engines to discharge them; and, because they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.

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(g) Masinissa was very much disgusted at the Romans, because, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their design, which circumstance caused some coldness between them.

(h) During this interval, the consuls were advancing towards the city, in order to besiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the incredible resolution and courage of the besieged filled them with the utmost astonishment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city, on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, was then a tribune in the army; and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, no less by his prudence than by his bravery. The consul, under whom he fought, committed many oversights, by refusing to follow his advice. This young officer drew the troops from several dangers into which their imprudent leaders had plunged them. A renowned person, Phamæas by name, who was general of the enemy's cavalry, and continually harassed the foragers, did not dare ever to keep the field when it was Scipio's turn to support them; so capable was he to order his troops, and post himself to advantage. So great and universal a reputation, excited some envy against him in the beginning; but as he behaved, in all respects, with the utmost modesty and reserve, that envy was soon changed into admiration; so that when the senate sent deputies to the camp, to enquire into the state of the siege, the whole army gave him unanimously the highest commendations; the soldiers as well as officers, nay, the very generals extolled the merit of young Scipio: so necessary it is for a man to soften, if I may be allowed the expression, the splendour of his rising glory, by a sweet and modest carriage;

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carriage; and not to excite the jealousy of people by haughty and self-sufficient behaviour, as it naturally awakens pride in others. and makes even virtue itself odious.

(i) About the same time Masinissa, finding his end approach, sent to desire a visit from Scipio, in order that he might invest him with full powers, to dispose, as he should see proper, of his kingdom and estate, in behalf of his children. But on Scipio's arrival he found that monarch dead. Masinissa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I shall give no further account here of the family and posterity of Masinissa, because that would interrupt too much the history of Carthage.

(k) The high esteem which Phamæas had entertained for Scipio, induced him to forsake the Carthaginians, and go over to the Romans. Accordingly he joined him with above two thousand horse and did great service at the siege.

(l) Calpurnius Piso the consul, and L. Mancinus his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased, they daily got new allies; and even sent an express as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeit Philip*; who passed for the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans; to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.

(m) This news occasioned some uneasiness at Rome. People began to doubt the success of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than

(i) A. M 3857. A. Rom. 601. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 63. (k) Pag. 65
(l) pag. 66. (m) Pag. 68. * *Andriscus*.

than had at first been imagined. As much as they were dissatisfied with the dilatoriness of the generals, and exclaimed at their conduct, so much did they unanimously agree in applauding young Scipio; and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the edileship. The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, a general persuasion that he was designed by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the second; these several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people; and though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, the people, disregarding for once the laws, conferred the ⁽ⁿ⁾ consulship upon him, and assigned him Africa for his province, without casting lots for his provinces, as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

(o) As soon as Scipio had completed his recruits, he set out for Sicily, and arrived soon after in Utica. He came very seasonably for Mancinus, Piso's lieutenant, who had rashly fixed himself in a post where he was surrounded by the enemy; and would have been cut to pieces, had not that very morning, the new consul, who, at his arrival heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops in the night, and sailed with the utmost speed to his assistance.

(p) Scipio's first care, after his arrival, was to revive the discipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the least regularity, subordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feasting, and diversions. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for soldiers, studiously banishing all things of a dainty, luxurious kind.

After

(n) A. M. 3858. A. Rom. 602. (o) Appian, p. 69 (p) Pag. 70.

After he had made these regulations, which cost him but little time and pains, because he himself first set the example, he was persuaded that those under him were soldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers, and scaling ladders, he led them, in the dead of the night, and without the least noise, to a district of the city called Megara; when ordering them to give a sudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were, at first, in the utmost terror; however, they defended themselves so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid soldiers, who, by the help of * pontons, got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, whose gates they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately after, and drove the enemies out of that post; who, terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, whither they were followed even by those forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary for them to fly to a place of security.

(q) Before I proceed further, it will be proper to give some account of the situation and dimensions of Carthage, which, in the beginning of the war against the Romans, contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf surrounded with the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty five stadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninsula was three hundred and sixty stadia or eighteen leagues round. On the west side there projected from it a long neck of land,
half

(q) Appian, p. 56 & l. lvii Strabo, l. xvii. p. 832.

* A sort of moveable bridge.

half a stadium, or twelve fathoms broad; which advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was fenced on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent, where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abstracted from parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being four-score fathoms. Every tower was four stories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants with their fodder, &c. over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. In fine, all these were contained within the walls. The walls were weak and low in one place only; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours which were on the west side. Two of these communicated with each other, and had but one entrance, seventy feet broad, shut up with chains. The first was appropriated for the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island, called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large keys, in which were distinct receptacles* for sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships; over these were magazines or store-houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionick order: So that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. In this island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour. he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one, from thence, could see

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* Νεωσκηκος, Strabo.

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what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men of war, the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other harbour. (r) So that Carthage may be divided into three parts: the harbour, which was double, and called sometimes Cothon, from the little island of that name: the citadel, named Byrsa: the city properly so called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.

(s) At day-break, Asdrubal * perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and, at the same time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken, upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. There he put them to the most exquisite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers; tearing their skin to pieces with iron rakes or harrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: however, he did not spare even them, but murdered many senators who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny.

(t) Scipio, finding himself absolute master of the Isthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops. It was in a square form, surrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with strong pallisades. On the side which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the

(r) Boch. in Phal. p. 512.

(s) Appian p. 72.

(t) Pag. 72.

* It was he who at first commanded without the city, but having caused the other Asdrubal, Mafiniff's grandson, to be put to death he got the command of the troops within the walls.

whole breadth of the Isthmus, that is, twenty-five stadia *. The enemy, who were within arrow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to put a stop to this work; but, as the whole army worked at it day and night, without intermission, it was finished in twenty four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: first, his forces were lodged more safely and commodiously than before: secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, to whom none could be brought but by land; which distressed them exceedingly, both because the sea is frequently very tempestuous in that place, and because the Roman fleet kept a strict guard. This proved one of the chief causes of the famine which raged soon after in the city. Besides, Asdrubal distributed the corn that was brought only among the thirty thousand men who served under him, without regard to what became of the inhabitants.

(u) To distress them still more, by the want of provisions, Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven, by a mole, beginning at the abovementioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The besieged looked, at first, upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they insulted the workmen: but, at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to be afraid; and to take such measures as might, if possible, render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, to the women and children, fell to work, but so privately, that all Scipio could learn from the prisoners, was, that they had heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the cause or occasion of it. At last, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a sudden, a new outlet, on the other side of the haven; and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must infallibly

(u) Appian p. 74.

* Four miles and three quarters.

infallibly have taken it; because as no such attempt was expected, and every man was otherwise employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, soldiers, or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of insult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

(x) Two days after they brought forward their ships, with a resolution to fight in good earnest, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. It lasted a long time, each exerting themselves to the utmost: the one to save their country reduced to the last extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and when briskly attacked, retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. At last, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sun set, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themselves overcome, but, in order to begin the fight again on the morrow. Part of their ships not being able to run swiftly enough into the harbour, because the mouth of it was too narrow, took shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and lasted till late at night. The Carthaginians suffered very much, and the few ships of theirs which got off, sailed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he posted and fortified himself on it, and built a brick wall close to that of the city, and of the same height. When it was finished he commanded four thousand men to get on the

H 2

top

(x) Appian, p. 75.

top of it, and to discharge from it a perpetual shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution ; because, as the two walls were of equal height, there was scarce one dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

(y) During the winter-quarters, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much harrassed the troops that brought his provisions, and protected such as were sent to the besieged. For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nepheris, where they used to shelter themselves. In the last action, above seventy thousand of the enemy, as well soldiers as peasants, who had been enlisted, were cut to pieces ; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after sustaining a siege of two-and-twenty days. The seizure of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strong holds in Africa ; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itself, into which, from that time, it was almost impossible to bring any provisions.

(z) Early in the spring, Scipio attacked, at one and the same time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, on each side of which were houses, from the tops whereof a shower of darts were discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they came first to, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houses continued six days, during which a dreadful slaughter was made. To clear the streets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aside, with hooks, the bodies of such of the inhabitants as had been slain, or precipitated headlong from the houses ; and
threw

threw them into pits, the greatest part of them being still alive and panting. In this toil, which lasted six days and as many nights, the foldiers were relieved from time to time, by fresh ones, without which they would have been quite spent. Scipio was the only person who did not take a wink of sleep all this time; giving order in all places, and scarce allowing himself leisure to take the least refreshment.

(a) There was still reason to believe, that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a great effusion of blood. But on the seventh day, there appeared a company of men in a suppliant posture and habit, who desired no other conditions, but that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel; which request was granted them, only the deserters were excepted. Accordingly there came out fifty thousand men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about nine hundred, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Æsculapius, with Asdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but small, they might have held out a long time, because the temple stood on a very high hill, upon rocks, to which the ascent was by sixty steps. But at last exhausted by hunger and watchings, oppressed with fear, and seeing their destruction at hand, they lost all patience; when, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost story, and resolved not to quit it but with their lives.

In the mean time Asdrubal, being desirous of saving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio shewed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and fury at the sight, vented millions of imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. Whilst it was lighting, we are told, that Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as

H. 3

possible

(a) Appian, p. 81.

possible, and placing herself with her two children in sight of Scipio, addressed him with a loud voice: "I call not down, says she, curses upon thy head, O Roman; for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the false wretch, who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then, directing herself to Asdrubal, "Perfidious wretch, says she; thou basest of creatures! this fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee (too shameful general of Carthage) go—adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror—suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures thou so justly deservest!" She had no sooner pronounced these words, but seizing her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which she was imitated by all the deserters.

(b) With regard to Scipio, when he saw this famous city, which had flourished seven hundred years, and might have been compared to the greatest empires, on account of the extent of its dominions both by sea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; and that the Carthaginians were even superior to other nations, by their courage and greatness of soul; as notwithstanding their being deprived of arms and ships, they had sustained, for three whole years, all the hardships and calamities of a long siege; seeing I say this city entirely ruined, historians relate, that he could not refuse his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no less than particular men; that the like sad fate had befallen Troy, anciently so powerful; and, in later times, the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose dominions were once of so great an extent; and lastly, the Macedonians, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the world. Full of these

mournful

mournful ideas, he repeated the following verses of Homer,

"Ἔσσειται ἡμ.ρ, ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ" Ἰλίου,
καὶ Πριάμου καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίῳ Πρεάμοιο.

Il. δ. 164, 165.

*The day shall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay,
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's self shall fall,
And one prodigious ruin follow all.*

POPE.

thereby denouncing the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio to explain himself on that occasion.

Had the truth enlightened his soul, he would have discovered what we are taught in the Scriptures, that (c) *because of unrighteous dealing, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another.* Carthage is destroyed, because its avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty, have attained their utmost height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious and delusive shew of justice and virtue, shall have compelled the sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, to give the universe an important lesson in its fall.

(d) Carthage being taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it (the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings which should be found, in the temples excepted) to his soldiers for some days. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Tib. Gracchus, and Caius Fannius, who first scaled the walls. After this, adorning a very small ship (an excellent sailer) with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome with the news of the victory.

(e) At the same time he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the pictures and statues

H 4

(c) Eccles. x 83.

(d) A. M. 3859. A. Carth. 701. A. Rom. 693.

Ant. J. C. 145. Appian. p. 83.

(e) Ibid.

statues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars. When he restored, to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull *, he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and of the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought to make them sensible, which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded, on the most severe penalties, his family not to take, or even buy any of them : so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

(f) When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the publick tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds, all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for sixteen years together; during which, Hannibal had plundered four hundred towns, destroyed three hundred thousand men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of these past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men emulously strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods; and the citizens were, for many days, employed wholly in solemn sacrifices, in publick prayers, games, and spectacles.

(g) After these religious duties were ended, the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country, in times to come. Their first care was to demolish

(f) Appian. p. 83.

(g) Ibid. p. 84.

* Quem taurum Scipio cum red-deret Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur, æquam esse illos cogitare utrum esset Siculis utilis, suisne servire,

au populo R. obtemperare, cum idem monumentum & domesticæ crudelitatis, & nostræ mansuetudinis haberent. *Cicer. Verr. vi. n. 73.*

demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage*. Rome †, though mistress of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being: so true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed; and does not cease, till the object that occasions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it never should be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any parts of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was admitted to see Carthage: Scipio being well pleased, to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire ‡. The commissioners decreed further, that those cities, which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be rased, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a prætor was sent annually.

(b) All matters being thus settled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had for

H 5

many

(b) Appian, p. 84.

* *We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florus says, viz. that it was seventeen days on fire before it could be all consumed. Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mora probari potest: Quippe per continuos decem & septem dies vix potuit incendium extinguere. Lib. ii. c. 15.*

† Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superato, securam spe-

ravit fore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante visum esse desinit, quam esse desit. *Rel. Patroc.* l. i. c. 12.

‡ Ut ipse locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, vestigia calamitatis ostenderet. *Aggrav.* li. ii. n. 50.

many years, been collecting, in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the publick treasury, which amounted to immense sums.

(i) Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken, to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt, in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's life-time, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it a-new, and conducted thither a colony consisting of six thousand citizens for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over-scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.

It is probable, that only a kind of huts were built there, since we are told, *that when Marius retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle; himself serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city.

(k) Appian relates, that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having crossed into Africa, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he writ down in his pocket-book the design which he formed on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that having been murdered soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the spot where it stood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been
vented

(i) Appian. p. 85. Plut. in. vit. Gracch. p. 834. (k) Ibid. 85.

† Marius cursum in Africam thagienn, illa intuens Marium, direxit, inoquemque vitam tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Car-
Val. Pat. c. 19.

vented at the time of its destruction, against those who should presume to rebuild it, might not fall upon him.

(*l*) I know not what foundation Appian has for this story; but we read in Strabo, that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Cæsar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before (*m*), he had plainly intended Julius Cæsar; and Plutarch (*n*), in the life time of that emperor, ascribes expressly to him, the establishment of these two colonies; and observes, that one remarkable circumstance in these two cities is, that as both had been taken and destroyed together, they were likewise rebuilt and repeopled at the same time. However this be, Strabo affirms, that, in his time, Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it rose to be the capital of Africa, under the succeeding emperors. It existed for above seven hundred years in splendour, but at last was so completely destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century, that neither its name, nor the least footsteps of it are known, at this time, in the country.

A digression on the manners and character of the second
SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

SCIPIO, the destroyer of Carthage, was son to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedon; and consequently grandson to that Paulus, who lost his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the son of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being so united, pursuant to the law of adoptions. Our * Scipio supported, with equal lustre, the honour and dignity of both houses, being possessed of all the exalted qualities of the sword and gown. The

H 6

whole

(*l*) Appian l. xvii. p. 833. (*m*) Pag. 83. (*n*) Pag. 733.

* Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit aut sensit. *Vel Patere*, l. i. c. 12.

whole tenor of his life, says an historian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or his words, was conspicuous for its great beauty and regularity. He distinguished himself particularly (a circumstance seldom found at that time in persons of the military profession) by his exquisite taste for polite literature, and all the sciences; as well as by the uncommon regard he shewed to learned men. It is universally known, that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the most polite and elegant writings which the Romans could boast. We are told of Scipio *, that no man could blend more happily repose and action, nor employ his leisure hours with greater delicacy and taste: thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exercised his body in toils of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences. By this he showed, that nothing does greater honour to a person of distinction, of what quality or profession soever he be, than the adorning his soul with knowledge. Cicero, speaking of Scipio, says, † that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are so famous for the solid and excellent instructions they contain both in regard to war and policy.

(o) He owed this exquisite taste for polite learning and the sciences, to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius bestowed on his children. He had put them under the ablest masters in every art; and did not spare any cost on that occasion, though his circumstances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himself was present at all their lessons, as often as the affairs of government would permit; becoming by this means, their chief preceptor.

The

(o) Plut. in vit. Æmil. Paul.

* Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispinxit: semper, que aut belli aut pacis serviit artibus, semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus

periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit. *Ibid.* c. 13.

† Africanus semper Socraticum Xenop hontem in manibus habebat. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. ii. n. 62.

(p) The strict union between Polybius and Scipio finished the exalted qualities, which, by the superiority of his genius and disposition, and the excellency of his education, were already the subject of admiration. Polybius with a great number of Achæians, whose fidelity the Romans suspected during the war with Perseus, was detained in Rome, where his merit soon attracted the eyes, and made his conversation the desire of all persons of the highest quality in that city. Scipio, when scarce eighteen, devoted himself entirely to Polybius; and considered as the greatest felicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being instructed by so great a master, whose society he preferred to all the vain and idle amusements which are generally so eagerly pursued by young persons.

Polybius's first care was to inspire Scipio with an aversion for those equally dangerous and ignominious pleasures, to which the Roman youth were so strongly addicted; the greatest part of them being already depraved and corrupted, by the luxury and licentiousness which riches and new conquests had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the first five years that he continued in so excellent a school, made the greatest improvement in it; and, despising the levity and wantonness, as well as the pernicious examples of persons of the same age with himself, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a shining model of discretion and wisdom.

From hence a transition was easy and natural, to generosity, to a noble disregard of riches, and to a laudable use of them; all virtues so requisite in persons of illustrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the most exalted pitch, as appears from some instances of this kind related by Polybius, and highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilia *, wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great estate to the

the

(p) Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 147—163.

* She was sister of Paulus Æmilius, father of the second Africanus.

the latter. This lady, besides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by women of her high rank, possessed a great number of gold and silver vessels used in sacrifices, together with several splendid equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes; the whole suited to the august house into which she had married. At her death, Scipio made over all those rich possessions to Papira his mother, who having been divorced a considerable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumstances to support the dignity of her birth, lived in great obscurity, and never appeared in the assemblies or publick ceremonies. But when she again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generosity of Scipio did him great honour, especially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their conversations, and in a city, whose inhabitants, says Polybius, were not easily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no less admired on another occasion. He was bound, by a condition in the will, to pay, at three different times, to the two daughters of Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to fifty thousand French crowns*. The time for the payment of the first sum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus, and Scipio Nasica, who had married the two sisters, imagining that Scipio had made a mistake, went to him, and observed, that the laws allowed him three years to pay the sum in, and at three different times. Young Scipio answered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occasion; that they might indeed be executed in their greatest rigour with strangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with more generous simplicity; and therefore desired them to receive the whole sum. They were struck with such admiration at the generosity of their kinsman, that in their return home, they reproached † themselves for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greatest figure of any family in

Rome.

I

* Or 11,250*l.* sterling.

† Κατηγορούμεντες τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας

Rome. This generous action, says Polybius, was the more admired, because no person in Rome, so far from consenting to pay fifty thousand crowns before they were due, would pay even a thousand before the time for payment was elapsed.

It was from the same noble spirit, that two years after, Paulus Æmilius his father being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius who was not so wealthy as himself, the part of their father's estate which was his (Scipio's) due (amounting to above threescore thousand crowns *) in order that there might not be so great a disparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being desirous to exhibit a show of gladiators after his father's decease, in honour of his memory (as was the custom in that age) and not being able to defray the expences on this occasion, which amounted to a very heavy sum, Scipio made him a present of fifteen thousand † crowns, in order to defray at least half the charges of it.

The splendid presents which Scipio had made his mother Papira, reverted to him, by law, as well as equity, after her demise; and his sisters according to the custom of those times, had not the least claim to them. Nevertheless, Scipio thought it would have been dishonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his sisters, whatever he had presented to their mother, which amounted to a very considerable sum; and by this fresh proof of his glorious disregard of wealth, and the tender friendship he had for his family, acquired the applause of the whole city.

These different benefactions, which amounted all together to a prodigious sum, seemed to have received a brighter lustre from the age in which he bestowed them, he being still very young; and yet more from the circumstances of the time when they were presented, as well as the kind and obliging carriage he assumed on those occasions.

The

* Or 13,500*l.* *Sterling.*

† Or 5375*l.* *Sterling.*

The incidents I have here given, are so repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reason to fear the reader would consider them merely as the rhetorical flourishes of an historian, who was prejudiced in favour of his hero; if it was not well known, that the predominant characteristick of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a sincere love for truth, and an utter aversion to adulation of every kind. In the very passage whence this relation is extracted, he thought it would be necessary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio; and he observes that as his writings were to be perused by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he would certainly be animadverted upon by them, should he venture to advance any falsehood; an affront, to which it is not probable that an author, who is ever so little tender of his reputation, would expose himself, especially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already observed, that Scipio had never given into the fashionable debaucheries and excesses to which the young people at Rome so wantonly abandoned themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this self-denial of all destructive pleasures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the rest of his life, which enabled him to taste pleasures of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected so much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exercise, contributed also very much to invigorate his constitution, and enable him also to endure the hardest toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging to the utmost of his desire, his passion in this respect; for the chase, which was the usual diversion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aside for some years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilus, studious of procuring his son virtuous pleasures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from those which reason prohib-

bits,

bits, gave him full liberty to indulge himself in this favourite sport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The illustrious youth employed his leisure hours in an exercise, which suited so well his age and inclination; and was as successful in this innocent war against the beasts in Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on against the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon, that he met with Polybius in Rome; and contracted the strict friendship with him, which was afterwards so beneficial to our young Roman, and did him almost as much honour in after-ages, as all his conquests. We find, by history, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when himself and Scipio were alone, the latter vented himself freely to him, and complained, but in the mildest and most gentle terms, that he in their conversations at table, always directed himself to his brother Fabius, and never to him. "I am sensible (says he) that this indifference arises from your supposing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedless young man, and wholly averse to the taste which now prevails in Rome, because I do not plead at the bar, nor study the graces of elocution. But how should I do this? I am told perpetually, that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, from the house of the Scipio's. I will confess to you (pardon the sincerity with which I reveal my thoughts) that your coldness and indifference grieve me exceedingly." Polybius, surprised at these unexpected words, made Scipio the kindest answer; and assured the illustrious youth, that though he always directed himself to his brother, yet this was not out of disrespect to him, but only because Fabius was the eldest; not to mention (continued Polybius) that, knowing you possessed but one soul, I conceived that I addressed both when I spoke to either of you. He then assured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command: that with regard to the sciences, for which he discovered the happiest genius, he would have opportunities sufficient to improve

improve himself in them, from the great number of learned Grecians who resorted daily to Rome; but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profession and his favourite study, he (Polybius) might be of some little service to him. He had no sooner spoke these words, but Scipio, grasping his hand in a kind of rapture: "Oh! when says he, shall I see the happy day, when disengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be so much my friend, as to improve my understanding, and regulate my affections? It is then I shall think myself worthy of my illustrious ancestors." From that time Polybius, overjoyed to see so young a man breath such noble sentiments, devoted himself particularly to our Scipio, who for ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

However, Scipio did not only esteem Polybius as an excellent historian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, by his being so able a warrior, and so profound a politician. Accordingly he consulted him on every occasion, and always took his advice even when he was at the head of his army; concerting in private with Polybius, all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprises against the enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful.

(9) In a word, it was the common report, that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action, but when he was advised to it by Polybius; nor ever commit an error, except when he acted without consulting him.

I flatter myself that the reader will excuse this long digression, which may be thought foreign to my subject as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself in this work, *viz.* the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear, introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not directly its proper place. And indeed, these examples shew, how

(9) Pausan. in Arcad. l. viii. p. 505.

how important it is, that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education, and the great benefit they reap, by frequenting and corresponding early with persons of merit; for these were the foundation whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble a model for our age (in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb the peace of families) is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio, who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, took a delight in bestowing the largest sums upon them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to the book, where, treating of the taste with regard to solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I afterwards could not but blame myself for omitting.

The HISTORY of the family and posterity of MASINISSA.

I Promised, after finishing what related to the republick of Carthage, to return to the family and posterity of Masinissa. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

(r) From Masinissa's having declared for the Romans in the time of the first Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconsul of Africa, under whose standards the younger Scipio then fought, to desire that Roman might be sent to him; adding, that he should die with satisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him
 executor

(r) A. M. 3857. A. Rom. 601. App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

executor to his will. But believing that he should be dead, before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows: "I know no other nation but the Romans, and, among this nation, no other family but that of the Scipios. I now, in my expiring moments empower Scipio Æmilianus to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all my possessions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. I require, that whatever Scipio may decree, shall be executed as punctually as if I myself had appointed it by my will." After saying these words, he breathed his last, being upwards of ninety years of age.

(s) This prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, having been dispossessed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thousand times in danger of his life. Being supported, says the historian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured, till his death, with a perpetual series of prosperity, unruffled by any sinister accident: for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his kingdom from Mauritania as far as Cyrene, he became the most powerful prince of all Africa. He was blessed till he left the world, with the greatest health and vigour, which doubtless was owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he perpetually sustained. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by * young men, and always rode without a saddle, and Polybius observes (a circumstance preserved by (t) Plutarch) that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen, sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

He

(s) App. p. 65.

(t) An seni gerenda sit Ref. p. 791.

* Cicero introduces Cato, speaking as follows of Masinissa's vigorous constitution. Arbitror te audire Scipio, hospes tuus Masinissa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in

equum omnino non ascendere; cum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem. Itaque exequi omnia regis officia et munera. *De Senectute.*

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(u) He left fifty-four sons, of whom three only were legitimate, viz. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between these three, and gave considerable possessions to the rest: but the two last dying soon after, Micipsa became sole possessor of these extensive dominions. He had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal (whom he educated in his palace with Jugurtha his nephew, Mastanabal's son) of whom he took as much care as he did of his own children *. This last mentioned prince possessed several eminent qualities, which gained him universal esteem. Jugurtha, who was finely shaped, and very handsome, of the most delicate wit, and the most solid judgement, did not devote himself, as young men commonly do to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself with persons of his age, in running, riding, throwing the javelin; and though he surpassed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his only delight, but it was that of lions and other savage beasts. To finish his character, he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself: *plurimum facere, et minimum ipse de se loqui.*

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections began to excite the jealousy of Micipsa. He saw himself in the decline of life, and his children very young. † He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable of going, when a crown is in view; and that a man, with talents much inferior to those of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by so resplendent a temptation, especially when united with such favourable circumstances. In order therefore to remove a competitor, so dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he sent to the assistance of the Romans, who, at that time, were besieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the most

(u) Appian. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

* All this history of Jugurtha is extracted from Sallust.

† Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii et præceps ad explen-

dam animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit. Sallust.

most heroick bravery, he flattered himself, that he probably would rush upon danger, and lose his life. However, he was mistaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage, the utmost calmness of mind; and, a circumstance very rarely found in persons of his age, he preserved a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness*. In this campaign, he won the esteem and friendship of the whole army. Scipio sent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the most advantageous testimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to it: for, knowing mankind so well, he, in all probability, had discovered certain sparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipsa, pleased with the great character that was sent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and resolved, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. Accordingly he adopted him; and by his will, made him joint-heir to his two sons. Finding afterwards his end approaching, he sent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in presence of the whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind how good he had been to him; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect on all occasions his children; who being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipsa's) bounty. He told him, † that neither arms nor treasure constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms or gold, but real services and inviolable fidelity. Now where (says he) can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend on strangers? He exhorted his sons to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha; and

* Ac sane, quod difficillimum imprimis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio: quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.

† Non exercitus, neque thesauri,

præsidia regni sunt, verum amici: quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariantur. Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidem invenies, si tuis hostis fueris?

and to dispute no otherwise with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if possible, surpass his exalted merit. He concluded with intreating them to observe for ever an inviolable attachment with regard to the Romans; and to consider them as their benefactor, their patron, and master. (x) A few days after this Micipsa expired.

But Jugurtha soon threw off the mask, and began by ridding himself of Hiempsal, who had expressed himself to him with great freedom, and therefore he got him murdered. (y) This bloody action proved but too evidently to Adherbal what he himself might naturally fear. Numidia is now divided, and sides severally with the two brothers. Mighty armies are raised by each party. Adherbal, after losing the greatest part of his fortresses, is vanquished in battle, and forced to make Rome his asylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great uneasiness, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore sent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief senators. In the first audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal represents the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injustice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loss of almost all his fortresses; but the circumstance on which he laid the greatest stress was, the commands of his dying father, *viz.* to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendship of this people would be a stronger support both to himself and his kingdom, than all the troops and treasures in the universe. His speech was of a great length, and extremely pathetick. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following answer; that Hiempsal had been killed by the Numidians, because of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor, and yet, after having been vanquished, was come to make complaints, because he had not committed all the excesses he desired to act; that their sovereign intreated the senate to form a judgement of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from that he had shown at Numantia; and to lay a greater

(x) A. M. 3887. A. Rom. 631.

(y) A. M. 3888. A. Rom. 632.

ter stress on his actions, than on the accusations of his enemies. But these ambassadors had secretly employed an eloquence, much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole assembly was for Jugurtha, a few senators excepted, who were not so void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The senate came to this resolution, that commissioners should be sent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the spot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally suppose, that Jugurtha was not sparing of his treasure on this occasion: the division was made to his advantage; and yet a specious appearance of equity was preserved.

This first success of Jugurtha augmented his courage and boldness. Accordingly he attacked his brother by open force; and whilst the latter loses his time in sending deputations to the Romans, he storms several fortresses, carries on his conquests, and, after defeating Adherbal, besieges him in Cirta, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval, ambassadors arrived from Rome with orders, in the name of the senate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and cease all hostilities. Jugurtha, after protesting that he would obey, with the most profound reverence and submission, the commands of the Roman people, added, that he did not believe it was their intention, to hinder him from defending his own life, against the treacherous snares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with saying, that he would send ambassadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the senate of his conduct. By this random answer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait on Adherbal.

Though the latter was so closely blocked up in his capital *, he yet found means to send to Rome, to implore the assistance of the Romans against his brother, who had besieged

* He chose two of the nimblest of those who had followed him into Cirta; and these, induced by the great rewards he promised them, and pitying his unhappy circumstances, undertook to pass through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring shore, and from
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besieged him five months, and intended to take away his life. Some senators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately against Jugurtha; but still his credit prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embassy to be sent, composed of senators of the highest distinction, among whom was *Æmilius Scaurus*, a factious man, who had a great ascendant over the nobility, and concealed the blackest vices, under the specious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at first; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly sent them back without coming to any conclusion. Upon this, *Adherbal*, who had lost all hopes, surrendered, upon condition of having his life spared; nevertheless he was immediately murdered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greatest part of the people at Rome were struck with horror at this news Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the senate. However, *C. Memmius*, the tribune of the people, an active man, and who hated the nobility, prevailed with the former, not to suffer so horrid a crime to go unpunished: and accordingly war being proclaimed against Jugurtha, *Calpurnius Bestia* the consul was appointed to carry it on. (z) * He was endued with excellent qualities, but they were all depraved and rendered useless by his avarice. *Scaurus* set out with him. They at first took several towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked the progress of these conquests; and *Scaurus* † himself, who, till now, had expressed the strongest animosity against this prince, could not resist so powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to submit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, some horses, with a very inconsiderable sum of money, were delivered to the quaestor.

(z) A. M. 3894. A. Rom. 683. Ant. J. C. 110.

*thence to Rome. Ex iis qui una
Cirtham profugerant, duos maxime
impigros delegit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum
confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones
noctu ad proximum mare, dein Roman pergerent. Sallust.*

* *Multæ bonæque artes animi & corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpe diebat.*

† *Magnitudine pecuniæ a bonos honestoque in pravam abstractu est.*

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius the tribune fired them with his speeches. He caused Cassius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha; and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an enquiry might be made in his presence, who those persons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The sight of him raised the anger of the people still higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the session, and at last dissolved it. A Numidian prince, grandson of Masinissa, called Massiva, being at that time in the city, was advised to solicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which coming to the ears of the latter, he got him assassinated in the midst of Rome. However, the murderer was seized, and delivered up to the civil magistrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he cast back his eyes several times towards it and said, "Rome wants only a purchaser; and, were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined*."

And now the war broke out anew. At first the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the consul, made it go on very slowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the publick assemblies†, the Roman army, by the unskilfulness of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out, it surrendered ignominiously to the enemy, who forced the Romans to submit to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so shameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was considered in a most odious light at Rome. They could not flatter themselves with the hopes of being successful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the consul. ‡ To all the rest of the virtues which

* Postquam Roma egressus est, fertur sæpe tacitus eo respiciens, postremo dixisse, *Urbem venalem & mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.*

† For electing magistrates. Sal.

‡ In Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter artes bonas, tum maxime quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat.

which constitute the great captain, he added a perfect disregard of wealth; a quality most essentially requisite against such an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his sword. But the African monarch found Metellus as inaccessible in this, as in all other respects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmost bravery, through the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly he signalized himself in a surprizing manner; and showed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illustrious general, to whom despair adds new vigour, and suggests new lights: he was however unsuccessful, because opposed by a consul, who did not suffer the most inconsiderable error to escape him, nor ever let slip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greatest concern was, how to secure himself from traitors. From the time he had been told, that Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, had a design upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himself safe any where; but all things, by day as well as night, the citizen as well as foreigner, were suspected by him; and the blackest terrors sat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of sleep, except by stealth; and often changed his bed, in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting sometimes from his slumbers, he would snatch his sword, and break into loud cries; so strongly was he haunted by fear, and so strangely did he act the madman.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundless ambition induced him to endeavour to lessen his general's character secretly in the minds of his soldiers; and becoming soon his professed enemy and slanderer, he at last, by the most grovelling and perfidious arts, prevailed so far, as to supplant Metellus, and get himself nominated in his room, to carry on the war against Jugurtha. * With

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* Quibus rebus supra bonum linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter aegritudinem atque honestum percussus, neque lacrymas tenere, neque moderari pati.

what strength of mind soever Metellus might be endued on other occasions, he was totally dejected by this unforeseen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and such expressions, as were altogether unworthy so great a man. There was something very dark and vile in Marius's procedure; a circumstance that displays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and shows that it extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all sense of honour and integrity. Metellus avoided a man whose sight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with universal acclamations. (a) A triumph was decreed him, and the surname of Numidicus conferred upon him.

I thought it would be proper to suspend, till I came to the Roman history, an account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumstantially described by Sallust, in his admirable history of Jugurtha. I therefore hasten to the conclusion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly distressed in his affairs, had recourse to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the shores of the Mediterranean, opposite to Spain*. The Roman name was scarce known in it, and the people as little known to the Romans. Jugurtha insinuated to his father-in-law, that should he suffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtless be involved in its ruin: especially as the Romans, who were sworn enemies to monarchy, seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occasions, very considerable succours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either side by no other tie but that of interest, had never been strong, and a last defeat which Jugurtha met with broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated

(a) A, M. 3898. A, Rom. 642. * Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

meditated the dark design of delivering up his son-in-law to the Romans. For this purpose he had desired Marius to send him a trusty person. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and served under him as quæstor, was thought every way qualified for this negociation. He was not afraid to put himself into the hands of the Barbarian king; and accordingly set out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus who, like the rest of his countrymen, did not pride himself in sincerity, and was for ever projecting new designs, debated within himself, whether it would not be his interest to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and between a contrariety of sentiments: and the sudden changes which displayed themselves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole person, showed evidently how strongly his mind was affected. At length, returning to his first design, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was sent immediately to Marius.

(b) Sylla, says Plutarch*, acted on this occasion, like a young man, fired with a strong thirst of glory, the sweets of which he has just begun to taste. Instead of ascribing to the general under whom he fought, all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reserved the greatest part of it to himself, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he used ever after as his signet. But Marius was so highly exasperated at this kind of insult, that he could never forgive him; a circumstance that gave rise to the implacable hatred between these two Romans which afterwards broke out with so much fury and cost the republick so much blood.

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(b) Plut. in vit. Marii.

* οἷα νέος φιλότιμος, ἀρτι δόξης εὐτυχημα. Plut. Præcept. reip. g.
 γένημα, οὐκ ἔνεγκε πατρίως τὸ rend. p 806.

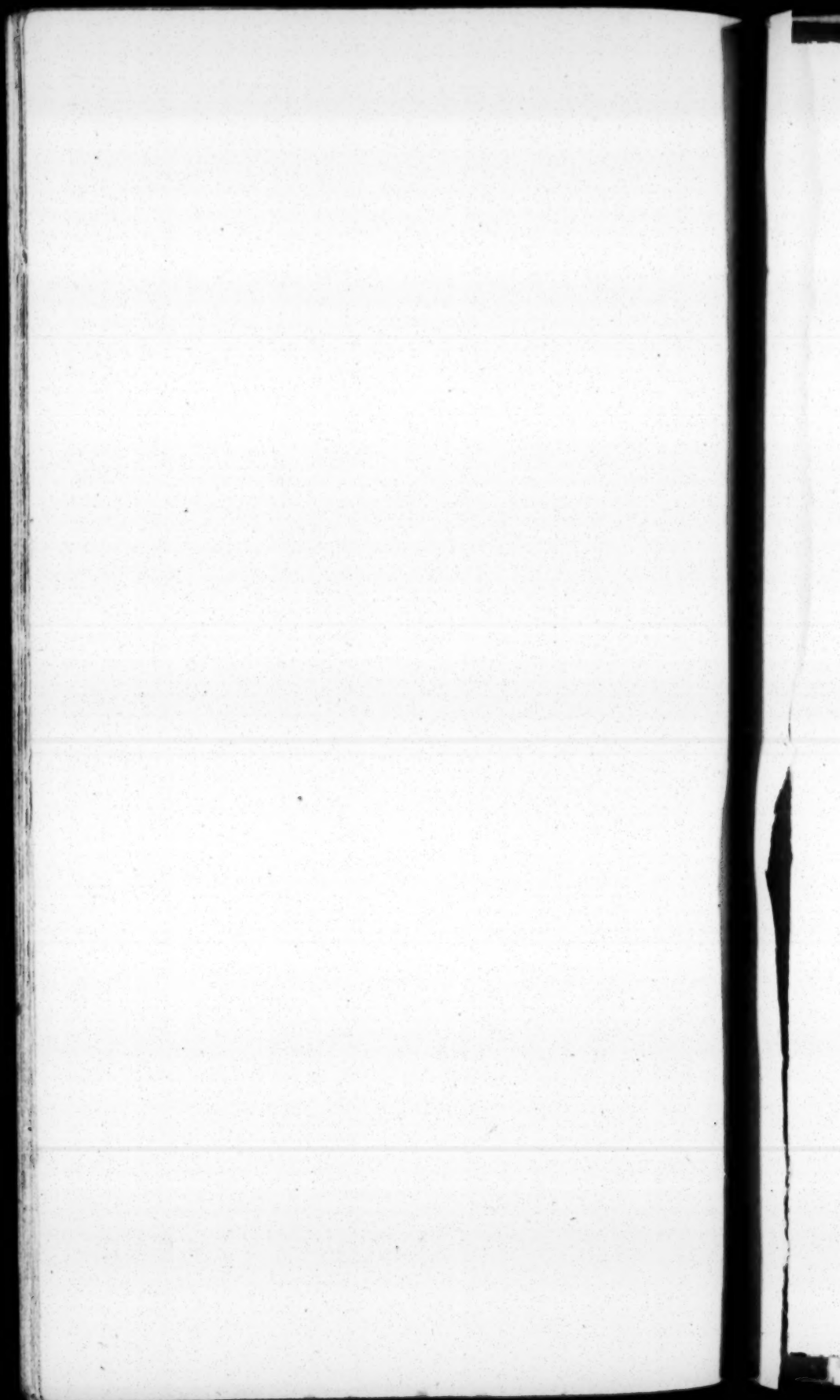
(c) Marius entered Rome in triumph, exhibiting such a spectacle to the Romans, as they could scarce believe they saw, when it passed before their eyes; I mean, Jugurtha in chains; that so formidable an enemy, during whose life they could not flatter themselves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; so well was his courage sustained by stratagem and artifice, and his genius so fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were most desperate. We are told, that Jugurtha run distracted, as he was walking in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into prison; and that the lictors were so eager to seize his robe that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition, he was cast quite naked, and in the utmost terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he spent six days in struggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a strong desire of life to his last gasp: an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds; Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greatest crimes might be committed to satiate his ambition, ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

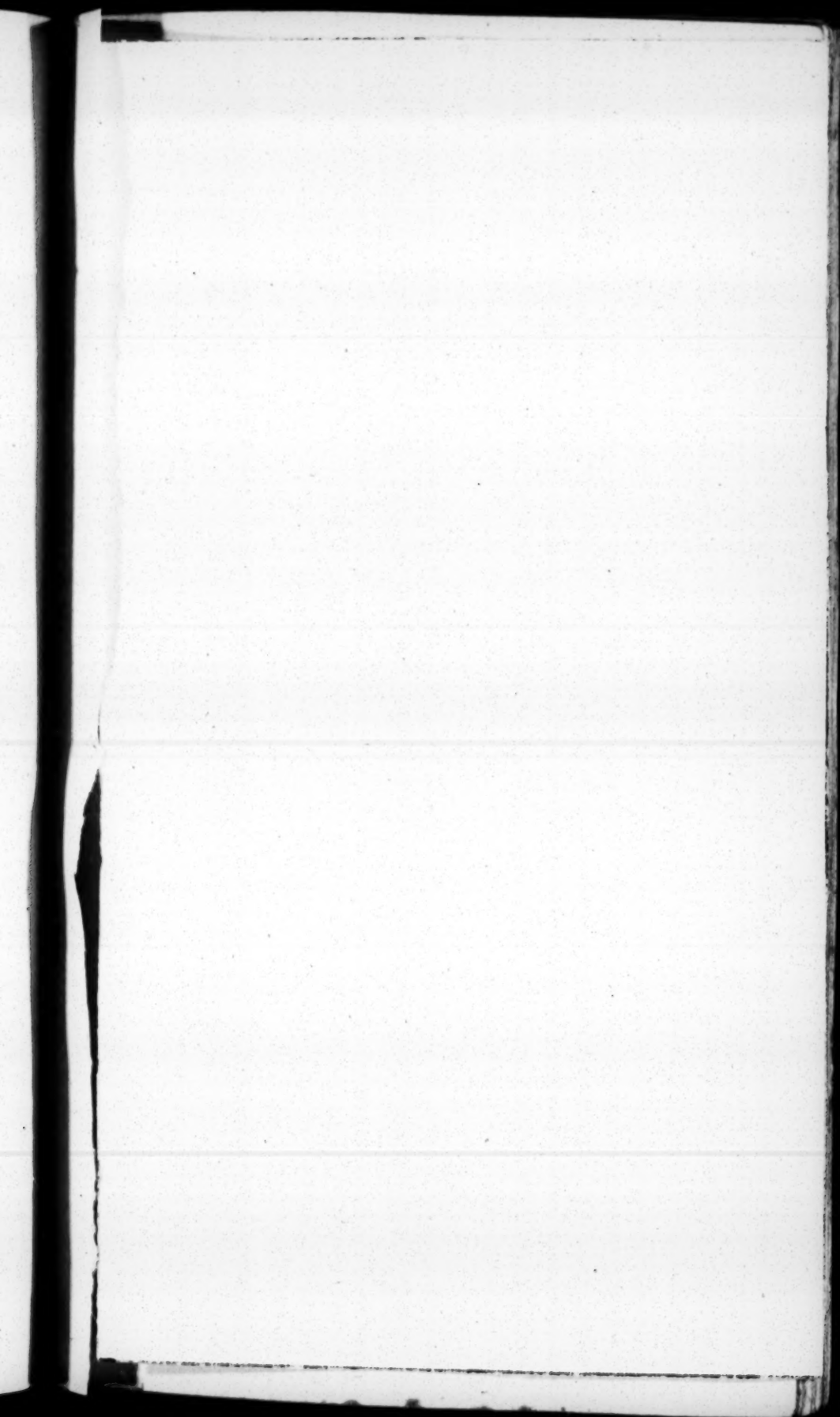
Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected so much honour on polite literature and the sciences, that I could not without impropriety, omit him in the history of the family of Masinissa, to whom his father, who also was named Juba, was great grandson, and grandson of Gulussa. The elder Juba signalized himself in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter hero. He slew himself after the battle of Thapsus, in which his forces and those of Scipio, were entirely defeated. Juba, his son, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from history that a noble

(c) A M 3901. A. Rom. 645. Ant. J. C. 103. Plut. *ibid.*

noble education was bestowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. (d) Augustus restored them to him, when, by the death of Mark Antony, the provinces of the empire were absolutely at his disposal. Juba by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his subjects; who, out of a grateful sense of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pausanias speaks of a statue which the Athenians erected to his honour. It was indeed just, that a city, which had been consecrated in all ages to the muses, should give publick testimonies of its esteem for a king, who made so bright a figure among the learned. * Suidas ascribes several works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant. He had written the history of Arabia; the antiquities of Assyria, and those of the Romans; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, and of grammar, &c. a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's short dissertation on the life and works of the younger Juba †, whence I have extracted these few particulars.

(d) A. M. 3794. A. Rom. 719. Ant. J. C 30. * In voce 16^oæc
 † Vol. IV. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles Lettres*, p. 457.





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BOOK THE THIRD.

THE H I S T O R Y O F T H E A S S Y R I A N S.

This Book will contain the History of the Assyrian Empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon, the Kingdom of the Medes, and the Kingdom of the Lydians.

C H A P. I.

The first empire of the Assyrians.

SECT. I. *Duration of that empire.*

THE Assyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the most powerful in the world. As to the length of its duration, two particular opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Ctesias, whose opinion is followed by Justin, give it a duration of thirteen hundred years: Others reduce it to five hundred and twenty, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or rather the interruption of power, which happened in this vast empire, might possibly give occasion to this difference of opinion, and may perhaps serve in some measure to reconcile it.

The history of those early times is so obscure, the monuments which convey it down to us so contrary to each other, and the systems of the * moderns upon that

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matter

* They that are curious to see more of this matter may read the dissertations of Abbot Banier and Mr. Frevet upon the Assyrian empire, in the *Mémoires of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, for the first, see Tome 3, and for the other, Tome 5; as also what Father Tournemine has written upon this subject in this edition of *Ménestrier*.

matter so different, that it is difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and incontestable. But where certainty is not to be had, I suppose a reasonable person will be satisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Assyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the holy scripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all appearance the first and most ancient that ever aspired after that denomination.

(a) The Babylonians, as Calisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Aristotle, reckoned themselves to be at least of 1903 years standing, when that prince entered triumphant into Babylon; which makes their origin reach back to the year of the world 1771, that is to say, 115 years after the deluge. This computation comes within a few years of the time we suppose Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed this testimony of Calisthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not esteemed authentick by the learned; but the conformity we find between that and the holy scriptures should make us regard it.

Upon these grounds I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the first Assyrian empire, which subsisted with more or less extent and glory upwards of * 1450 years, from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus; the last king, that is to say, from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.

(b) NIMROD. He is the same with † Belus, who was afterwards worshipped as a god under that appellation.

He was the son of Chuz, grandson of Cham, and great grandson of Noah. He was, says the scripture, *a mighty hunter before the Lord*. (c) In applying himself to this la-

borious

(a) Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de cælo. (b) A. M. 1800. Ant. C. 2204. (c) Gen. x. 9.

Here I depart from the opinion of Bishop Ussher, my ordinary guide, with respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire, which he supposes, with Herodotus, to have lasted but 520 years; but the time when Nimrod lived and Sardanapalus died, I take from him.

† Belus or Bael signifies Lord.

borious and dangerous exercise he had two things in view ; the first was to gain the people's affection, by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beasts ; the next was, to train up numbers of young people by this exercise of hunting to endure labour and hardship, to form them to the use of arms, to inure them to a kind of discipline and obedience, that at a proper time after they had been accustomed to his orders, and seasoned in arms, he might make use of them for other purposes more serious than hunting.

In ancient history we find some footsteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus, his son (*d*) : For Diodorus has these words ; “ Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings, mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition, and ambitious of glory that results from valour, he armed a considerable number of young men that were brave and vigorous, like himself : trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships, and by that means accustomed them to bear the fatigues of war patiently, and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity.”

(*e*) What the same author adds, that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is a piece of ancient tradition, which informs us, that the sons of Chus, and by consequence the brothers of Nimrod, all settled themselves in Arabia, along the Persian gulf, from Havila to the Ocean ; and lived near enough their brother to lend him succours, or to receive them from him. And what the same historian further says of Ninus, that he was the first king of the Assyrians, agrees exactly with what the scripture says of Nimrod, *that he began to be mighty upon the earth* ; that is, he procured himself settlements, built cities, subdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the same authority, by the band of the same polity and the same laws, and formed them

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into

(*d*) Lib. ii. p. 90.

(*e*) Ibid.

into one state; which for those early times was of a considerable extent, though bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which in succeeding ages made new acquisitions by degrees, and at length extended its conquests very far.

(f) *The capital city of his kingdom*, says the scripture, *was Babylon*. Most of the prophane historians ascribe the founding of Babylon to * Semiramis, the rest to Belus. It is visible that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founding of that city; for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis, nor to Nimrod, but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in scripture (g) who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal.

(h) Josephus relates, upon the testimony of a Sybil (which must have been very ancient, and whose fictions cannot be imputed to the indiscreet zeal of any Christians) that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane. Had this been the case, Nimrod's temerity must have been still the greater, to rebuild a city and a tower, which God himself had overthrown with such marks of his displeasure. But the scripture says no such thing; and it is very probable, the building remained in the condition it was, when God put an end to the work by the confusion of languages; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which is described by Herodotus (i), was this very tower which the sons of men pretended to raise to the clouds.

It is further probable, that this ridiculous design being defeated by such an astonishing prodigy as none could be the author of but God himself, every body abandoned the place, which had given him offence; and that Nimrod was the first who encompassed it afterwards with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates,

(f) Gen. x. 10.

(g) Gen. xi. 4.

(h) Hist. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(i) Lib. i. c. 181.

* Semiramis eam condiderat, vel, ut plerique tradidero, Belus, cujus regia ostenditur. Q. Curt. lib. v. c. 1.

confederates, and subdued those that lived round about it, beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to so narrow a compass: *Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon.* The other cities, which the scripture speaks of in the same place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province, of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Assyria, and there built Nineveh: (*k*) *De terra illa egressus est Assur, & edificavit Nineven.* This is the sense in which many learned men understand the word Assur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the first man who possessed it; as if it were, *egressus est in Assur, in Assyrium.* And this seems to be the most natural construction for many reasons not necessary to be recited in this place. The country of Assyria in one of the prophets (*l*) is described by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: *Et pascent terram Assur in gladiis, & terram Nimrod in lanceis ejus; & liberabit ab Assur, cum venerit in terram nostram.* It derived its name from Assur the son of Shem, who without doubt had settled himself and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under subjection by the usurper Nimrod.

This conqueror, having possessed himself of the provinces of Assur, (*m*) did not ravage them like a tyrant, but filled them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects as he was by his old ones: so that the historians, (*n*) who have not examined into the bottom of the affair, have thought that he made use of the Assyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities he built one more large and magnificent than the rest, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus, in order to immortalise his memory. The son in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had served him as their king should adore him as their god,

(*k*) Gen. x. 11.

(*l*) Mic. v. 6.

(*m*) Gen. x. 11, 12.

(*n*) Diod. l. i. p. 90.

god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears plainly, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who showed others the way to that sort of immortality, which may result from human accomplishments.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is ascribed by prophane authors, because the scripture says little or nothing on that subject. This silence of scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson for our piety. The holy pen-man has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together on purpose, that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men, and in the latter of what is acceptable and well-pleasing to God *. These two persons so unlike one another, are the two first and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives, and with different principles; the one self-love, and a desire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other the love of God, even to the contemning of one's self.

NINUS. I have already observed, that most of the prophane authors look upon him as the first founder of the Assyrian empire, and for that reason ascribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

(o) Having a design to enlarge his conquests, the first thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his design. And having received powerful succours from the Arabians his neighbours, he took the field, and in the space of seventeen years conquered a vast extent of country, from Egypt as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.

At

(o) Diod. l. ii. p. 90—95.

* Fecerunt civitates duas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei; cœlestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui. *S. Aug. de Civ. Dei*, lib. xiv. c. 28.

At his return, before he entered upon any new conquests, he conceived the design of immortalising his name by the building of a city answerable to the greatness of his power; he called it Nineveh, and built it on the eastern banks of the *Tigris. Possibly he did no more than finish the work his father had begun. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world, and not leave it in the power of those that came after him, ever to build, or hope to build such another. Nor was he deceived in his view, for never did any city come up to the greatness and magnificence of this: It was one hundred and fifty stadia (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety stadia (or eleven miles and one quarter) in breadth; and consequently was an oblong square. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty stadia, or sixty miles. For this reason we find it said in the prophet Jonah, (p) *That Neneveh was an exceeding great city, of three days journey*; which is to be understood of the whole circuit, or compass of the city†. The walls of it were an hundred feet high, and of so considerable a thickness, that three chariots might go a-breast upon them with ease. They were fortified and adorned with fifteen hundreded towers two hundred feet high.

After he had finished this prodigious work, he resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Ctesias, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, two hundred thousand horse, and about sixteen thousand chariots, armed with scythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, since, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the single city of Syracuse, in the time of Dionysius the tyrant, furnished one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and

(p) Jon. iii. 3.

* Diodorus says it was on the bank of the Euphrates, and speaks of it as if it was so, in many places; but he is mistaken.

† It is hard to believe that Diodorus does not speak of the bigness of

Nineveh with some exaggeration: therefore some learned men have reduced the stadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile instead of eight.

and twelve thousand horse, besides four hundred vessels well equipped and provided. And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to send into the field near a million of men. Ninus made himself master of a great number of cities, and at last laid siege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have seen all his attempts miscarry, had it not been for the diligence and assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and particularly exempt from the weakness of her sex. She was born at Ascalon, a city of Syria. I think it needless to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nursed and brought up by pigeons, since that historian himself looks upon it only as a fabulous story. It was Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and then became master of the city, in which he found an immense treasure. The husband of this lady having killed himself to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent passion for his wife. Ninus married Semiramis.

After his return to Nineveh, he had a son by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She in honour of his memory erected him a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Nineveh.

(9) I find no appearance of truth in what some authors relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne. According to them, having secured the chief men of the state, and attached them to her interest by her benefactions and promises, she solicited the king with great importunity to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of five days. He yielded to her intreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. These orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was

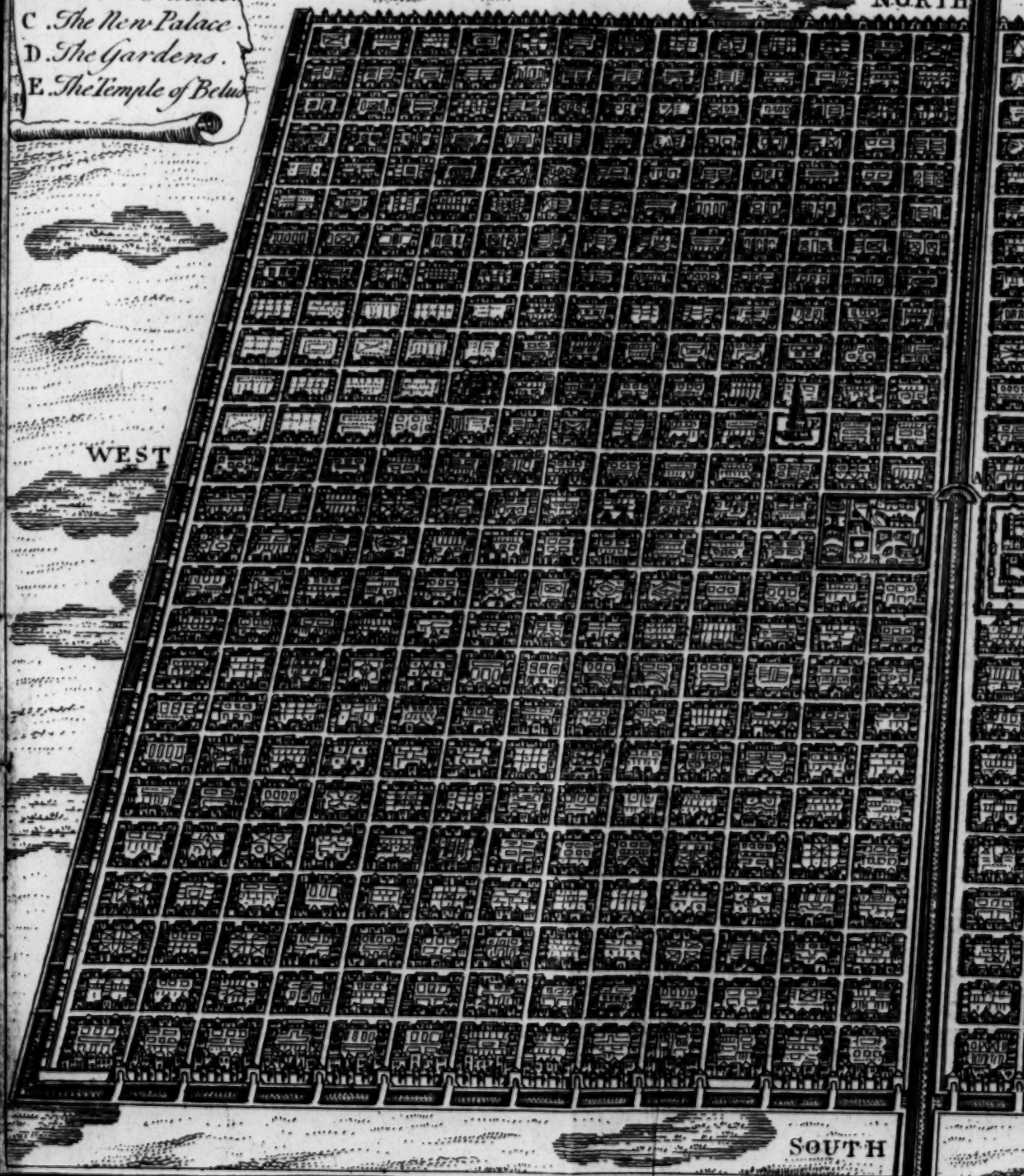
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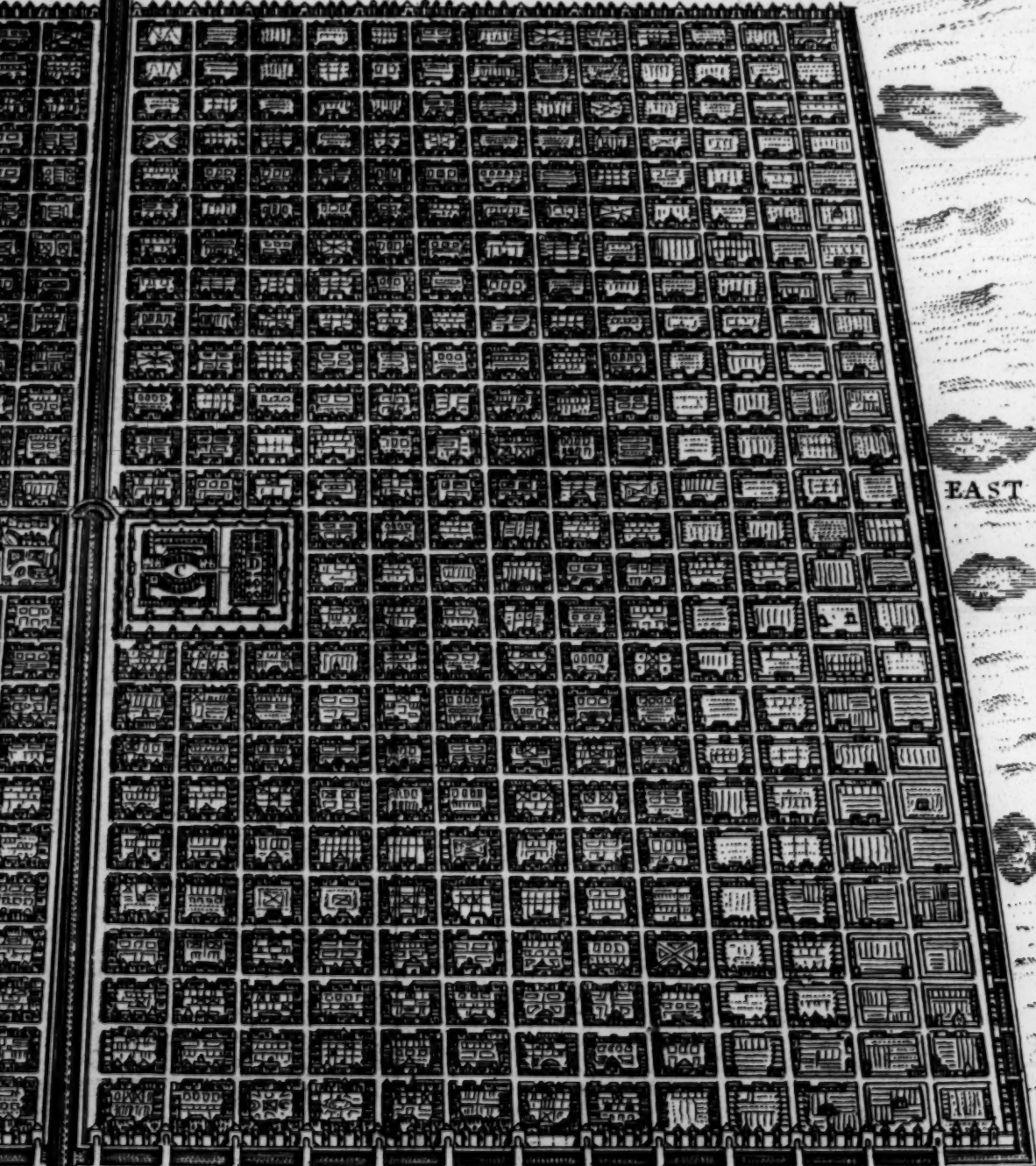
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SEMIRAMIS. (r) This princess applied all her thoughts to immortalise her name, and to cover the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises. She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence, and to that end she undertook the * building of the mighty Babylon, in which work she employed two millions of men, which were collected out of all the provinces of her vast empire. Some of her successors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embellishments. I shall here speak of them all together, in order to give the reader a more clear and distinct idea of that stupendous city.

The principal works, which rendered Babylon so famous, are the walls of the city; the keys and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of such a surprising magnificence, as is scarce to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this matter with great extent and learning, I have only to copy, or rather abridge him.

I. *The WALLS.*

• (s) Babylon stood on a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soil. The walls were every way prodigious. They were in thickness eighty seven feet, in height three hundred and fifty, and in compass four hundred and eighty furlongs, which makes sixty of our miles. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square, each side of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs†, or

(r) Diod. l. ii. p. 95.
95, 96. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

(s) Her. l. i. c. 178, 180. Diod. l. ii. p.

* We are not to wonder, if we find the founding of a city ascribed to different persons. It is common, even among the prophane writers, to say, Such a prince built such a city, whether he was the person that first founded it, or that only embellished, or enlarged it.

† I relate things as I find them in the ancient authors, which Dean Prideaux has also done; but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what they say as to the immense extent of Babylon and Nineveh.

or fifteen miles, in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the bricks or stones themselves which it cements together.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both sides. The earth that was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch.

In every side of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, an hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him, *(1)* *That he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass.* Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall, where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each side of this great square went twenty-five streets, in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over-against them, in the opposite side; so that the whole number of the streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly crossing each other at right angles. And besides these, there were also four half streets, which had houses only on one side and the wall on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad; the rest were about an hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference.

Round

(1) Isa. xli. 2.

(u) Round these squares, on every side towards the streets, stood the houses (which were not contiguous, but had void spaces between them) all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was likewise all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, near one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.

II. *The KEYS and BRIDGE.*

(x) A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite across the city, from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a key, and an high wall built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that went round the city. In these walls, over-against every street that led to the river, were gates of brass, and from them descents by steps to the river, for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the building of the bridge. These brazen gates were always open in the day time, and shut in the night.

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings either in beauty or magnificence; it was a *furlong in length, and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. The arches were made of huge stones, fastened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they began to build the bridge, they turned the course of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in

(u) Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1. (x) Her. l. i. c. 180 & 186. Diod. l. ii. p. 96.

*Diodorus says, *this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, since the Euphrates was but one furlong broad.* Strab. l. xvi. p. 758.

in so doing besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as I shall explain hereafter. And as every thing was prepared before-hand, both the bridge and the keys, which I have already described, were built in that interval.

III. *The LAKE, DITCHES, and CANALS, made for the draining of the RIVER.*

These works, objects of admiration for the skilful in all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. (y) In the beginning of the summer, on the sun's melting the snow upon the mountains of Armenia, there arises a vast increase of waters, which running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July and August, makes it overflow its banks, and occasions such another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt. (z) To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from these inundations, at a very considerable distance above the town two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of these waters into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon. (a) And to secure the country yet more from the danger of inundations, and to keep the river within its channel, they raised prodigious artificial banks on both sides the river, built of brick cemented with bitumen, which begun at the head of the artificial canals and extended below the city.

To facilitate the making of these works, it was necessary to turn the course of the river another way; for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, * forty miles square, one hundred and sixty in compass, and thirty five feet deep according to Herodotus, and seventy-five according to Megasthenes. Into this lake was the whole river turned, by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it,

(y) Strab. l. xvi. p. 74c. Plin. l. v. c. 26.

(z) Abyd. ap. Euf. Præp. Evang. lib. ix.

(a) Abyd. ib. Her. l. i. c. 185

* The author follows Herodotus, but I chose to follow Dean Prideaux, whomakes it four hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifty-two miles square; Megasthenes.

it, till the whole work was finished, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates in the time of its increase might not overflow the city, through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of these overflowings was kept there all the year, as in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices at all convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake therefore was equally useful in defending the country from inundations, and making it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon, as they are delivered down to us by the ancients; but there are some of them which are scarce to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the lake I have described, I mean with respect to its vast extent.

Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, make Nebuchadnezzar the author of most of these works; but Herodotus ascribes the bridge, the two keys of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might only finish what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that historian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

IV. *The PALACES and the HANGING GARDENS.*

(b) At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces, which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river at the time of its being dry. The whole palace which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three quarters) in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, of which we shall soon speak. The new palace, which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs (or seven miles and an half) in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, with considerable

(b) Diod. l. ii. p. 96, 97.

considerable spaces between them. These walls, as also those of the other palace, were embellished with an infinite variety of sculptures, representing all kinds of animals to the life. Amongst the rest was a curious hunting piece, in which Semiramis on horseback was throwing her javelin at a leopard and her husband Ninus piercing a lion.

(c) In this last or new palace were the Hanging Gardens, so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of four plethra (that is, of four hundred feet) on every side, and were carried up aloft into the air, in the manner of several large terrasses, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrass to terrass, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches, raised upon other arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of twenty two feet thickness. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long, and four broad: Over these was a layer of reed, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaister. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away through the arches. The mould, or earth, laid hereon, was so deep, that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with such the terrasses were covered, as well as with all other plants and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleasure. In the upper terrass there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this whole structure rested, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful prospect.

Amytis,

(c) Diod. p. 98, 99. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

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(d) Berol
l. ii. p. 98.

(*d*) Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country) had been much taken with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as she desired to have something like it in Babylon, Nebuchodonosor, to gratify her, caused this prodigious edifice to be erected: Diodorus gives much the same account of the matter, but without naming the persons.

V. *The TEMPLE of BELUS.*

(*e*) Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which stood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace. It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass, and (according to Strabo) it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, built one above the other; and because it decreased gradually to the top, Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. It is not only asserted, but proved, that this tower much exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reason to believe, as (*f*) Bochartus asserts, that this is the very same tower which was built there at the confusion of languages; and the rather, because it is attested by several prophane authors, that this tower was all built of bricks and bitumen, as the scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it; that is, perhaps, there was an easy sloping ascent in the side of the outer wall, which turning by very slow degrees in a spiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the same appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these

(*d*) Berof. ap. Jos. con. App. 1. i. c. 6. (*e*) Herod. 1. i. c. 181. Diod. l. ii. p. 98. Strab. 1. xvi. p. 738. (*f*) Phal. part. I. 1. i. c. 9.

these different stories were many large rooms, with arched roofs supported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by the benefit of which the Babylonians became more expert in astronomy than all other nations, and made in a short time the great progress in it ascribed to them in history.

But the chief use to which this tower was designed was the worship of the god Belus, or Baal, as also that of several other deities; for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in the different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among other images, there was one of forty feet high, which weighed a thousand Babylonish talents. The Babylonish talent, according to Pollux in his *Onomasticon*, contained seven thousand Attic drachmas, and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but six thousand drachmas.

According to the calculation which Diodorus makes the riches contained in this temple, the sum total amounts to six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold.

The sixth part of six thousand three hundred is one thousand and fifty; consequently six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents of gold are equivalent to seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold.

Now seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of silver are worth upwards of two millions, and one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The proportion between gold and silver among the ancients we reckon as ten to one; therefore seven thousand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one and twenty millions sterling.

(g) This temple stood till the time of Xerxes; but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished

(g) Herod. l. i. c. 183. Strab. l. xv. p. 738. Arrian. l. vii. p. 480.

molished it entirely, after having first plundered it of all its immense riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purposed to have rebuilt it; and in order thereto, set ten thousand men to work, to rid the place of its rubbish; but, after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon so famous; some of them are ascribed by prophane authors to Semiramis, to whose history it is now time to return.

(n) When she had finished all these great undertakings, she thought fit to make a progress through the several parts of her empire; and, wherever she came, left monuments of her magnificence by many noble structures which she erected, either for the convenience, or ornament of her cities; she applied herself particularly to have water brought by aqueducts to such places as wanted it, and to make the highways easy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with her name inscribed upon them.

(o) The authority this queen had over her people seems very extraordinary, since we find her presence alone capable of appeasing a sedition. One day, as she was dressing herself, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon she went out immediately, with her hair half dressed, and did not retire till the disturbance was entirely appeased. A statue was erected in remembrance of this action, representing her in that very attitude and the undress, which had not hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not satisfied with the vast extent of dominions left her by her husband, she enlarged them by the conquest of a great part of Æthiopia. Whilst she was in that country, she had the curiosity to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to enquire of the oracle how

VOL. II.

K

long

(n) Diod. l. ii. p. 100—108.

(o) Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 3.

long she had to live. According to Diodorous, the answer she received was, that she should not die till her son Ninyas conspired against her, and that after her death one part of Asia would pay her divine honours.

Her greatest and last expedition was against India; on this occasion she raised an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the strength of the Indians consisted chiefly in their great number of elephants, this artful queen had a multitude of camels accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. It is said that Perseus long after used the same stratagem against the Romans; but neither of them succeeded in this stratagem. The Indian king having notice of her approach, sent ambassadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, she came out of wantonness to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldness should soon meet with the punishment it deserved. Tell your master (replied the queen) that in a little time I myself will let him know who I am. She advanced immediately towards the * river, from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a sufficient number of boats, she attempted to pass it with her army. Their passage was a long time disputed, but after a bloody battle she put her enemies to flight. Above a thousand of their boats were sunk, and above a hundred thousand of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this success she advanced directly into the country, leaving sixty thousand men behind to guard the bridge of boats, which she had built over the river. This was just what the king desired, who fled on purpose to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As soon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a second engagement ensued, more bloody than the first. The counterfeited elephants could not long sustain the shock of the true one's. These routed her army, crushing whatever came

in

* Indus.

in their way. Semiramis did all that could be done, to rally and encourage her troops, but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The swiftness of her horse soon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crowded to the bridge, to repass the river, great numbers of them perished, through the disorder and confusion unavoidable on such occasions. When those that could save themselves were safely over, she destroyed the bridge, and by that means stopped the enemy; and the king likewise, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to pass the river, nor pursue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of prisoners at Bactra, returned to her own dominions with scarce one third of her army, which (according to Ctesias) consisted of three hundred thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, besides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which she had a very considerable number. She, and Alexander after her, were the only persons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

I must own I am somewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raised against the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they do not seem to agree with the times so near the deluge: Such vast armies, I mean, such a numerous cavalry, so many chariots armed with scythes, and such immense treasures of gold and silver; all which seem to be of a later date. The same thing may likewise be said of the magnificence of the buildings, ascribed to them. It is probable the Greek historians, who came so many ages afterwards, deceived by the likeness of names, through their ignorance in chronology, and the resemblance of one event with another, may have ascribed such things to more ancient princes, as belonged to those of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterprizes to one, which ought to be divided amongst a series of them succeeding one another,

Semiramis, some time after her return, discovered that her son was plotting against her, and one of her prin-

cipal officers had offered him his assistance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any punishment on the officer, who was taken into custody, she voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her son, and withdrew from the sight of men, hoping speedily to have divine honours paid to her according to the promise of the oracle. And indeed we are told, she was worshipped by the Assyrians, under the form of a dove. She lived sixty-two years, of which she reigned forty-two.

There are in the (p) memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres two learned dissertations upon the Assyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.

What Justin (q) says of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's decease, not daring either to commit the government to her son, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herself, she governed under the name and habit of Ninyas; and that after having reigned in that manner above forty years, falling passionately in love with her own son, she endeavoured to bring him to a criminal compliance, and was slain by him: All this, I say, is so void of all appearance of truth, that to go about to confute it would be but losing time. It must however be owned, that almost all the authors, who have spoken of Semiramis, give us but a disadvantageous idea of her chastity.

I do not know but the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce (r) Plato to maintain in his Commonwealth, that women as well as men ought to be admitted into the management of publick affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of states; and by necessary consequence ought to be trained up in the same exercises as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. (s) Nor does he so much as except those exercises, wherein it was customary to fight stark naked, alledging,

that

(p) Vol. iii. p. 343. (q) Lib. i. c. 2. (r) Lib. v. de Rep. p. 451—457.

(s) Ἐπειπερ ἀρετὴν καὶ ἰσχυρίαν ἀμφιέσονται

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that the virtue of the sex would be a sufficient covering for them.

It is just matter of surprize to find so judicious a philosopher in other respects, openly combating the most common and most natural maxims of modesty and decency, which virtues are the principal ornament of the sex, and insisting so strongly upon a principle, sufficiently confuted by the constant practice of all ages, and of almost all nations in the world.

(*t*) Aristotle, wiser in this than his master Plato, without doing the least injustice to the real merit and essential qualities of the sex, has with great judgement marked out the different ends, to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind, wherewith they are endowed by the Author of Nature, who has given the one strength of body and intrepidity of mind, to enable him to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the most imminent dangers; whilst the other on the contrary is of a weak and delicate constitution, accompanied with a natural softness and modest timidity, which render her more fit for a sedentary life, and dispose her to keep within the precincts of the house, to employ herself in a prudent and industrious œconomy.

(*u*) Xenophon is of the same opinion with Aristotle; and in order to set off the occupation of the wife, who confines herself within her house, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the queen of the bees, who alone governs and has the superintendance of the whole hive, who distributes all their employments, encourages their industry, presides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nourishment and subsistence of her numerous family; regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpose, and at fixed and proper seasons sends abroad the new swarms in colonies, to ease and discharge the hive of its superfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Aristotle, the difference of constitution and inclinations, designedly given by the Author of Nature

K 3

(*t*) De cura rei fam. l. i. c. 5.

(*u*) De administr. dom. p. 839.

ture to man and woman, to point out to each of them their proper and respective offices and functions.

This allotment, far from degrading or lessening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domestick empire and government, administered only by gentleness, reason, equity, and good-nature; and in giving her frequent occasions to exert the most valuable and excellent qualities under the inestimable veil of modesty and submission. For it must ingeniously be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women, who by a real and solid merit have distinguished themselves above their sex; as there have been innumerable instances of men, who by their defects have dishonoured theirs. But these are only particular cases, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail against an establishment founded in nature, and prescribed by the Creator himself.

(x) NINYAS. This prince was in no respect like those, from whom he received life, and to whose throne he succeeded. Wholly intent upon his pleasures, he kept himself shut up in his palace, and seldom showed himself to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Nineveh a certain number of regular troops, furnished every year from the several provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were succeeded by the like number of other troops on the same conditions; the king putting a commander at the head of them, on whose fidelity he could depend. He made use of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affections of the soldiers, and so form any conspiracies against him.

His successors for thirty generations followed his example, and even outdid him in indolence. Their history is absolutely unknown, there remaining no footsteps of it.

(y) In Abraham's time the scripture speaks of Amraphel, king of Sennaar, the country where Babylon was situated, who with two other princes, followed Chedarla-

omer,

omer, king of the Elamites, whose tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter against five kings of the land of Canaan.

(a) It was under the government of these inactive princes, that Sesostris king of Egypt, extended his conquests so far in the East. But as his power was of a short duration, and not supported by his successors, the Assyrian empire soon returned to its former state.

(b) Plato, a curious observer of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priamus, dependent on the Assyrian empire. And Ctesias says, that Teutamus, the twentieth king after Nynias, sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, at a time when the Assyrian empire had subsisted above a thousand years; which agrees exactly with the time, wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire. But the silence of Homer concerning so mighty a people, and which must needs have been well known, renders this fact exceedingly doubtful. And it must be owned, that whatever relates to the times of the ancient history of the Assyrians is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

(c) PUL. The scripture informs us, that Pul, king of Assyria, being come into the land of Israel, had a thousand talents of silver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him assistance, and secure him on his throne.

This Pul is supposed to be the king of Nineveh, who repented with all his people, at the preaching of Jonah.

He is also thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, called, according to the custom of the eastern nations, Sardan-pul, that is to say, Sardan, the son of Pul.

K 4

SARDA-

(b) A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1492. (c) A. M. 2820. Ant. J. C. 1184. De Leg. l. iii. p. 685. (d) A. M. 3233. Ant. J. C. 771. 2 Kings xv. 19.

(d) SARDANAPALUS. This prince surpassed all his predecessors in effeminacy, luxury, and cowardice. He never went out of his palace, but spent all his time amongst a company of women, dressed and painted like them, and employed like them at the distaff. He placed all his happiness and glory in the possession of immense treasures, in feasting and rioting, and indulging himself in all the most infamous and criminal pleasures. He ordered two verses to be put upon his tomb, when he died, which imported, that he carried away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleasures he had enjoyed, but left all the rest behind him.

* *Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exaturata libido
Hauisit: at illa jacent multa & præclara relicta.*

An epitaph says Aristotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governor of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and with his own eyes seen Sardanapalus in the midst of an infamous seraglio, enraged at such a spectacle, and not able to endure that so many brave men should be subject to a prince more soft and effeminate than the women themselves, immediately formed a conspiracy against him. Belesis, governor of Babylon, and several others, entered into it. On the first rumour of this revolt, the king hid himself in the inmost part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with some forces which he had assembled, he was overcome, and pursued to the gates of Nineveh; where in he shut himself, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take so well fortified a city, and stored with provisions for a considerable time: The siege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declared by an ancient oracle, that Nineveh could never be taken, unless the river became an enemy to the city. These words buoyed up

Sardanapalus,

(d) Diod. l. ii. p. 109—115. Ath. l. xii. p. 529, 530. Just. l. i. c. 3.

* Κεῖν ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθαιγον, καὶ ἐφύ- *Hæc habere se mortuum dicit, quæ
ερισσά, καὶ μετ' ἑρῶν τὴν ἰπαθὸν* *ne vivus quidem diutius habebat,*
τὰ δὲ πάλαι ἔδωκεν πάντα ἀλλοτρίοις. *quam fruebatur. Cic. Tusc. Quæst.*
Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bo- *lib. v. n. 101.*
vis, non in regis sepulchro, inscriberes?

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Sardanapalus, because he looked upon the thing as impossible. But when he saw, that the Tigris by a violent inundation had thrown down twenty * stadia of the city-wall, and by that means opened a passage to the enemy, he understood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himself lost. He resolved, however, to die in such a manner, as, according to his opinion, should cover the infamy of his scandalous and effeminate life. (e) He ordered a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and setting fire to it, burnt himself, his eunuchs, his women, and his treasures. Athenæus makes these treasures amount to a † thousand myriads of talents of gold, and to ten times as many talents of silver, which, without reckoning any thing else, is a sum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains ten thousand; and one single myriad of talents of silver is worth thirty millions French money, or about one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling. A man is lost, if he attempts to sum up the whole value; which induces me to believe, that Athenæus must have very much exaggerated in his computation; however, we may be assured from his account, that the treasures were immensely great.

(f) Plutarch, in his second treatise, dedicated to the praise of Alexander the Great, wherein he examines in what the true greatness of princes consists, after having shown, that it can arise from nothing but their own personal merit, confirms it by two very different examples, taken from the history of the Assyrians, which we are upon. Semiramis and Sardanapalus (says he) both governed the same kingdom; both had the same people, the same extent of country, the same revenues, the same forces and number of troops; but they had not the same dispositions, nor the same view. Semiramis, raising herself above her sex, built magnificent cities, equipped fleets, armed legions, subdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and

K 5

carried

(e) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

(f) Pag. 335, & 336.

* Two miles and an half.

† About fourteen hundred millions sterling.

carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Asia, spreading consternation and terror every where. Whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounced his sex, spent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually surrounded with a company of women, whose habit and even manners he had taken, applying himself with them to the spindle and the distaff, neither understanding nor doing any other thing than spinning, eating, and drinking, and wallowing in all manner of infamous pleasure. Accordingly, a statue was erected to him, after his death, which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in these words, (g) *Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing.* An inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had ordered to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis, as almost all the prophane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But, if we would make a true judgement of things, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less blameable, than the dissolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus; which of the two vices did most mischief to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Assyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having passed through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted above 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire were formed three considerable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty; that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governor of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, the first king whereof took the name of Ninus the younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire, which is very obscure, and of which little is said by historians, it is proper and even absolutely necessary,

(g) *ἔσθιε πίνε, ἀφροδισιάζει τὰλλα δὲ ὑδέν.*

to compare what is said of it by prophane authors with what we find of it in holy scripture ; that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Nineveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, and afterwards united and confounded together. I shall first treat of the second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

CHAP. II.

The second Assyrian empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon.

THIS second Assyrian empire continued two hundred and ten years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the east by the death of his father Cambyfes, and his father-in-law Cyaxares, published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a seventy years captivity at Babylon.

Kings of BABYLON.

(b) BELESIS. He is the same as Nabonassar, from whose reign began the famous astronomical epocha at Babylon, called from his name the æra of Nabonassar. In the holy scriptures he is called Baladan. He reigned but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son.

(i) MERODACH-BALADAN. This is the prince who sent ambassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reigned several other kings at Babylon, (k) with whose story we are entirely unacquainted. I shall therefore proceed to the kings of Nineveh.

Kings of NINEVEH.

(l) TIGLATH-PILESER. This is the name given by the holy scripture to the king, who is supposed to be the
K 6 first

(b) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. 2 Kings xx. 12. (i) Ibid.
(k) Can. Ptol. (l) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. Lib. xii. hist.
anim. c. 21. Castor. apud Euseb. Chron. p. 49. 2 Kings xvi. 7, &c.

first that reigned at Nineveh, after the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire. He is called Thilgamus by Ælian. He is said to have taken the name of Ninus the younger, in order to honour and distinguish his reign by the name of so ancient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz, king of Judah, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attacked at once by the kings of Syria and Israel, robbed the temple of part of its gold and silver, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, to purchase his friendship and assistance; promising him besides to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Assyria finding so favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily accepted the proposal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damascus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Isaiah (l) and Amos. From thence he marched against Phacæa, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Israel beyond Jordan, or in Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, still exacting of him such exorbitant sums of money that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and silver of the temple. Thus this alliance served only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh, who became so many instruments afterwards in the hand of God for the chastisement of his people.

(m) SALMANASER. Sabacus, the Ethiopian, whom the scripture calls So, having made himself master of Egypt, Hosea, king of Samaria, entered into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to shake off the Assyrian yoke. To this end he withdrew from his dependance upon Salmanaser, refusing to pay him any further tribute, or make him the usual presents.

Salmanaser, to punish him for his presumption, marched against him with a powerful army; and after having subdued

(l) If. viii. 4. Am. i. 5.
2 Kings xvii.

(m) A. M. 3276. Ant. J. C. 728.

duced all the plain country, shut him up in Samaria, where he kept him closely besieged for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hosea with chains, and threw him into prison for the rest of his days; carried away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes, destroyed, as God had often threatened by his prophets. This kingdom, from the time of its separation from that of Judah, lasted about two hundred and fifty years.

(n) It was at this time that Tobit, with Anne his wife, and his son Tobias, was carried captive into Assyria, where he became one of the principal officers to king Salmanaser.

Salmanaser died, after having reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

(o) SENNACHERIB. He is also called Sargon in scripture.

As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed the demand of the tribute, exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refusal, he declared war against him, and entered into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, sent ambassadors to him, to desire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. Sennacherib, seemingly mollified, entered into treaty with him, and demanded a very great sum of gold and silver. The holy king exhausted both the treasures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Assyrian, regarding neither the sanction of oaths nor treaties, still continued the war, and pushed on his conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power, and of all the strong places of Judah, none remained untaken but Jerusalem, which was likewise reduced to the utmost extremity. (p) At this very juncture Sennacherib was informed, that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had joined forces with the king of Egypt, was coming

(n) Tob. c. 1.
2 Kings, c. xviii. and xix.

(o) A. M. 3287. Ant. J. C. 717. Is. xx. 1,
(p) 2 Kings xix. 9.

coming up to succour the besieged city. Now it was contrary to the express command of God, as well as the remonstrances of Isaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief rulers at Jerusalem had required any foreign assistance. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having written a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy, against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish as he had done all the Gods of the other nations round about him. In short, he discomfited the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and returned laden with spoil.

(9) It was probably during Sennacharib's absence, which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured after a miraculous manner ; and that (as a sign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him so perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple) the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being informed of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, sent ambassadors to him with letters and presents, to congratulate him upon that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happened upon earth at this juncture, with respect to the sun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely sensible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to show his ambassadors the riches and treasures he possessed, and to let them see the whole magnificence of his palace. Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable ; but in the eyes of the supreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing and delicate than ours, this action discovered a lurking pride, and secret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly he instantly advertised the king by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures he had been showing to those ambassadors with so much ostentation, should one day be transported to Babylon ; and that

that his children should be carried thither, to become servants in the palace of that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are speaking of, was in friendship and alliance with Jerusalem, as appears by her having sent ambassadors thither: Nor did Jerusalem then seem to have any thing to fear, but from Nineveh; whose power was at that time formidable, and had entirely declared against her. But the fortune of those two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accomplished.

(r) But to return to Sennacherib; after he had ravaged Egypt, and taken a vast number of prisoners, he came back with his victorious army, encamped before Jerusalem, and besieged it a-new. The city seemed to be inevitably lost: It was without resource, and without hope from the hands of men; but had a powerful protector in heaven, whose jealous ears had heard the impious blasphemies uttered by the king of Nineveh against his sacred name. In one single night an hundred and eighty-five thousand men of his army perished by the sword of the destroying angel. After so terrible a blow this pretended king of kings (for so he called himself) this triumpher over nations, and conqueror of gods, was obliged to return to his own country with the miserable remnant of his army, covered with shame and confusion: Nor did he survive his defeat a few months, but only to make a kind of an honourable amende to God, whose supreme majesty he had presumed to insult, and who now, to use the scripture terms, having *put a ring into his nose, and a bit into his mouth*, as a wild beast made him return in that humbled afflicted condition, through those very countries, which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Nineveh, being enraged at his disgrace, he treated his subjects after a most cruel and tyrannical manner. (s) The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Israelites, of whom he had great numbers massacred every day, ordering

their

3

(r) 2 Kings xix. 35—37.

(s) Tobit i. 18—24.

their bodies to be left exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial. Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himself for some time, and suffer all his effects to be confiscated. In short, the king's savage temper rendered him so insupportable to his own family, that his two eldest sons conspired against him, (t) and killed him in the temple, in the presence of his god Nisroch, as he lay prostrate before him. But these two princes, being obliged after this parricide to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Efarhaddon, their youngest brother.

(u) ESSARHADDON. We have already observed, that after Merodach-Baladan, there was a succession of kings at Babylon, of whom history has transmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an eight years inter-regnum, full of troubles and commotions. Efarhaddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himself master of Babylon; and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having re-united Syria and Palestine to the Assyrian empire, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he entered the land of Israel, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit. And that the country might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. (x) The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled; *within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people.* This was exactly the space of time elapsed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Israel did then truly cease to be a visible nation, what was left of them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

(y) This prince, having possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his generals with a part of his army into Judea,

(t) 2 Kings xix. 37. (u) A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710. Can. Ptol.

(x) Is. vii. 3. (y) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 13.

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Judea, to reduce that country likewise, under his subjection. These generals defeated Manasseh, and having taken him prisoner, brought him to Esarhaddon, who put him in chains, and carried him with him to Babylon. But Manasseh, having afterwards appeased the wrath of God by a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.

(z) Mean time the colonies, that had been sent into Samaria, in the room of its ancient inhabitants, were grievously infested with lions. The king of Babylon, being told the cause of that calamity was their not worshipping the God of the country, ordered an Israelitish priest to be sent to them, from among the captives taken in that country, to teach them the worship of the God of Israel. But these idolaters, contented with admitting the true God amongst their ancient divinities, worshipped him jointly with their false deities. This corrupt worship continued afterwards, and was the source of the aversion entertained by the Jews against the Samaritans.

Esarhaddon, after a prosperous reign of thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was succeeded by his son

(a) SAOSDUCHINUS. This prince is called in scripture Nabuchodonosor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To distinguish this from the others, he is called Nabuchodonosor the First.

(b) Tobit was still alive at this time, and dwelt among other captives at Nineveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold his children the sudden destruction of that city; of which at that time there was not the least appearance. He advised them to quit the city, before its ruin came on, and to depart as soon as they had buried him and his wife.

The ruin of Nineveh is at hand, says the good old man, abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. These last words are very remarkable,

(z) 2 Kings xvii. 25—41. (a) A. M. 3335. Ant. J. C. 669.

(b) Tobit. xiv. 5—13.

markable, *the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction.* Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Nineveh to any other reason, but we are taught by the Holy Ghost, that her unrighteousness was the true cause of it, as it will be with other states, that imitate her crimes.

(c) Nabuchodonosor defeated the king of the Medes in a pitched battle, fought the twelfth year of his reign, upon the plain of Ragau, took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and returned triumphant to Nineveh. When we come to treat of the history of the Medes we shall give a more paticular account of this victory.

It was immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was besieged by Holofernes, one of Nabuchodonosor's generals; and that the famous enterprize of Judith was accomplished.

(d) SARACUS, otherwise called CHYNA-LADANUS. This prince succeeded Saosduchinus; and having rendered himself contemptible to his subjects by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolassar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, usurped that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned over it one and twenty years.

(e) NABOPOLASSAR. This prince, the better to maintain his usurped sovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they besieged and took Nineveh, killed Saracus, and utterly destroyed that great city. We shall speak more largely of this great event when we come to the history of the Medes. From this time forwards the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Assyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Necho, king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that to stop their progress he marched towards the Euphrates at the head of a powerful army, and made several considerable

(c) Judith i. 5, 6. (d) A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 648. Alex. Polyhist. (e) A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.

Adorable conquests. See the history of the Egyptians (*f*) for what concerns this expedition, and the consequences that attended it.

(*g*) Nabopolassar finding that, after the taking of Carchemish by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in person to recover them, he made his son Nabuchodonosor partner with him in the empire, and sent him with an army to reduce those countries to their former subjection.

(*h*) From this time the Jews begin to reckon the years of Nabuchodonosor, viz. from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.

(*i*) NABUCHODONOSOR II. This prince defeated Necho's army near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemish. From thence he marched towards Syria and Palestine, and re-united those provinces to his dominions.

(*k*) He likewise entered Judea, besieged Jerusalem, and took it: He caused Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design to have him carried to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he restored him to his throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon; whither all the treasures of the king's palace, and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported. Thus was the judgement God had denounced by the prophet Isaiah to king Hezekiah accomplished. From this famous epocha, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but eighteen years old, was carried captive among the rest; and Ezekiel some time afterwards.

Towards

(*f*) Vol. I. (*g*) Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. i.

(*h*) A. M. 3398. Ant. J. C. 606. (*i*) Jer. xlv. 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

(*k*) Dan. i. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

(l) Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim died Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, after having reigned one and twenty years. As soon as his son Nabuchodonosor had news of his death, he set out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the nearest way through the desert, attended only with a small retinue, leaving the bulk of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and spoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of those that had carefully preserved it for him, and so succeeded to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, over which, according to Ptolemy, he reigned forty-three years.

(m) In the fourth year of his reign he had a dream, at which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it again to mind. He thereupon consulted the wise men and divines of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the substance of his dream. They all answered, that it was beyond the reach of their art to divine the thing itself; and that the utmost they could do, was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As absolute princes are not accustomed to meet with opposition, but will be obeyed in all things, Nabuchodonosor, imagining they dealt insincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to die. Now Daniel and his three companions were included in the sentence, as being ranked among the wise men. But Daniel, having first invoked his God, desired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole substance of his dream. "The thing thou sawest (says he to Nebuchadnezzar) was an image of an enormous size, and a terrible countenance. The head thereof was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the feet part of iron and part of clay. And as the king was attentively looking upon that vision, behold a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and the stone

" smote

(l) Can. Ptol. Berof. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. 2.

(m) A. M. 3401. Ant. J. C. 603. Dan. c. ii.

"smote the image upon his feet, and brake them to pieces; the whole image was ground as small as dust, and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." When Daniel had related the dream, he gave the king likewise the interpretation thereof, showing him how it signified the three great empires, which were to succeed that of the Assyrians, namely, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or (according to some) that of the successors of Alexander the Great. "After these kingdoms (continued Daniel) shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and this kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever." By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Nebuchadnezzar, quite ravished with admiration and astonishment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared, that the God of the Israelites was really the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the highest offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governors over all the wise men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were also promoted to honours and dignities.

(a) At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon, whose generals, that were still in Judea, marched against him, and committed all kinds of hostilities upon his country. *He slept with his fathers*, is all the scripture says of his death, Jeremiah had prophesied that he should neither be regretted nor lamented; but should *be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem*: This was no doubt fulfilled, though it is not known in what manner.

* Jechonias succeeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father. Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jerusalem, in three months time he himself came at the head of his army, and made himself mas-

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(a) 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2.

* *Al.* Jehoiakim, 2 Kings xxiv. 6—18.

ter of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treasures, and sent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden vessels remaining, which Solomon had made for the use of the temple: He carried away likewise a vast number of captives, amongst whom was king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he set upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwise called Zedekiah.

(o) This prince had as little religion and prosperity as his fore-fathers. Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter soon chastised him for it, and immediately laid siege to Jerusalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army gave the besieged some hopes; but their joy was very short-lived; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned against Jerusalem, and renewed the siege, which lasted near a twelve-month. (p) At last the city was taken by storm, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Zedekiah's two sons were by Nebuchadnezzar's orders killed before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judah: Zedekiah himself had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in prison as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burnt, and all their fortifications demolished.

(q) Upon Nebuchadnezzar's return to Babylon, after his successful war against Judea, he ordered a golden statue to be made sixty + cubits high, assembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatening to cast those that should refuse into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Upon this occasion it was, that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refused to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preserved, after a mi-

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(q) 2 Kings xxiv. 17—20. and xxi. 1—10. (p) A. M. 3415. A. C. J. C. 589. (q) Dan. iii. + 90 feet.

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raucous manner, in the midst of the flames. The king, himself a witness of this astonishing miracle, published an edict, whereby all persons whatsoever were forbid, upon pain of death, to speak any thing amiss against the God of Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. He likewise promoted these three young men to the highest honours and employments.

Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, marched again into Syria, and besieged Tyre, at the time when Ithobal was king thereof. Tyre was a strong and opulent city, which never had been subject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce; (r) by which many of its citizens were become like so many princes in wealth and magnificence. It was built by the Sidonians two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jerusalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of its inhabitants made their escape in ships, and founded the city of Tyre. And for this reason we find it called in Isaiah (s) *the daughter of Sidon*. But the daughter soon surpassed the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are speaking of, she was in a condition to resist thirteen years together a monarch, to whose yoke all the rest of the east had submitted.

(t) It was not till after so many years, that Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre. His troops suffered incredible hardships before it; so that according to the proph. expression, (u) *every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled*. Before the city was reduced to the last extremity its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, half a mile from the shore, where they built a new city; the name and glory whereof extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from henceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of ancient Tyre.

NEBUCHAD-

(r) Ezek. xxvi. 27. If. xxiii. 8. Just. l. xviii. c. 3. (s) If. xxiii. 2. (t) Jos. Ant. l. x. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. i. (u) Ez. xxix. 8, 19.

(*) Nebuchadnezzar and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege, and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the service they had rendered Almighty God (it is the expression of the prophet) in executing his vengeance upon that city, to make them amends, God was pleased to promise by the mouth of Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt. And indeed Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt soon after, as I have more fully related in the history of the Egyptians (y). When this prince had happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, he put the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus (z) an account of the magnificent structures ascribed to this monarch by several writers. I have mentioned a great part of them in the description already given of that stately city.

(a) Whilst nothing seemed wanting to complete Nebuchadnezzar's happiness, a frightful dream disturbed his repose, and filled him with great anxiety. He dreamed, "He saw a tree in the midst of the
" earth, whose height was great: the tree grew, and
" was strong, and the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth.
" The leaves were fair, and the fruit much; and in
" it was meat for all: The beasts of the field had
" shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt
" in the boughs thereof; and all flesh was fed of it.
" Then a watcher and an holy one came down
" from heaven and cried; Hew down the tree, and
" cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit; let the beasts get away from under
" it, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheless
" leave the stump of his roots in the earth,
" even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field: and let it be wet with the
" dew

(x) Ex. xix, 18—20.

(y) Vol. I.
(a) Dan. iv, 4—18

(z) Antiq. l. x. c. 11.

"dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the
"beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be
"changed from man's and let a beast's heart be gi-
"ven unto him; and let seven times pass over him.
"This matter is by the decree of the watchers,
"and the demand by the word of the holy ones,
"to the intent that the living may know, that the
"Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and
"giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over
"it the basest of men."

The king justly terrified at this terrible dream, consulted all his wise men and magicians, but to no purpose. He was obliged to have recourse to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king's own person, plainly declaring to him, "That
"he should be driven from the company of men
"for seven years, should be reduced to the condi-
"tion and fellowship of the beasts of the field, and
"feed upon grass like a bullock: that his kingdom
"nevertheless should be preserved for him, and he
"should re-possess his throne, when he should have
"learnt to know and acknowledge, that all power
"is from above, and cometh from heaven. After
"this he exhorted him to break off his sins by righte-
"ousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the
"poor."

All these things came to pass upon Nebuchadnezzar, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he said, "Is not this great Babylon which I
"have built for the house of the kingdom by the
"might of my power, and for the honour of my
"majesty?" Would a secret impulse of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the sight of such noble structures, erected by himself, appear to us so very criminal? and yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced this sentence; "In the same hour his

" understanding went from him; he was driven from
 " men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was
 " wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were
 " grown like eagles feathers and his nails like birds
 " claws."

After the expiration of the appointed time he recovered his senses, and the use of his understanding: " He lifted up his eyes unto heaven (says the scripture) and blessed the most high; he praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation:" confessing, " That all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay his hand or say unto him, What dost thou?" Now he recovered his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to seek him; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Being affected with the heartiest gratitude he caused by a solemn edict to be published, through the whole extent of his dominions, what astonishing and miraculous things God had wrought in his person.

One year after this Nebuchadnezzar died, having reigned forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned in the east. He was succeeded by his son,

(r) EVIL-MERODACH. As soon as he was settled in the throne, he released Jachonias, king of Judah, out of prison, where he had been confined near seven and thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-Merodach, which lasted but two years the learned place, Daniel's detection of the frauds practised by the priests of Bel; the innocent artifice, by which he contrived to kill the dragon, which was worshipped as a god; and the miraculous deliverance

(r) A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 563. 2 Kings xxv. 27—30.

deliverance of the same prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

(s) Evil-Merodach rendered himself so odious by his debauchery, and other extravagances, that his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death.

(t) NERIGLISSAR, his sister's husband, and one of the chief conspirators, reigned in his stead.

Immediately on his accession to the crown he made great preparations for war against the Medes, which made Cyaxares send for Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance. This story will be more particularly related by and by, where we shall find that this prince was slain in battle, in the fourth year of his reign.

(u) LABOROSOARCHOD, his son, succeeded to the throne. This was a very wicked prince. Being born with the most vicious inclinations he indulged them without restraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been invested with sovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the most infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months; his own subjects, conspiring against him, put him to death. His successor was

(x) LABYINIT or NABONID. This prince had likewise other names, and in scripture that of Belshazzar. It is reasonably supposed that he was the son of Evil-Merodach, by his wife Nitocris, and consequently grandson to Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the east were to be subject, as also to his son, and his grandson after him; (y) *All nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land shall come.*

(z) Nitocris is that queen who raised so many noble edifices in Babylon, she caused her own monument to be placed over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription, dissuading her successors

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from

(r) Berof. Magasthen. (t) A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyrop. l. i.

(u) A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556. (x) A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

(y) Jer. xxvii. 7. (z) Her. l. i. cap. 185. &c.

from touching the treasures laid up in it, without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. The tomb remained unopened till the reign of Darius, who, upon his breaking it open, instead of those immense treasures he had flattered himself with, found nothing but the following inscription.

IF THOU HADST NOT AN INSATIABLE THIRST AFTER MONEY, AND A MOST SORDID, AVARICIOUS SOUL, THOU WOULDST NEVER HAVE BROKE OPEN THE MONUMENTS OF THE DEAD.

(a) In the first year of Belshazzar's reign Daniel had the vision of the four beasts, which represented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to succeed them (b) In the third year of the same reign he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat, which pre-figured the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution which Antiochus Ephiphanes, king of Syria, should bring upon the Jews. I shall hereafter make some reflections upon these prophecies, and give a larger account of them.

(c) Belshazzar, whilst his enemies were besieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain festival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing. The joy of this feast was greatly disturbed by a vision, and still more so by the explication which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night the city was taken, and Belshazzar killed.

(d) Thus ended the Babylonian empire, after having subsisted two hundred and ten years from the destruction of the great Assyrian empire.

The particular circumstances of the siege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.

(a) Dan. c. vii.
J. C. 536.

(b) c. viii.

(c) c. v.

(d) A. M. 3468. Ant.

CHAP. III.

The history of the kingdom of the Medes.

I TOOK notice in speaking of the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire, (e) that Arbaces, general of the Medes, was one of the chief authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus: And several writers believe, that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media, and many other provinces, and assumed the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

(f) The Assyrians, who had for many ages held the empire of Asia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke, and maintained for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valour: But that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy, worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence, and rapine, prevailed every where, because there was nobody that had either power enough to restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than ever it was before.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into tribes. Almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This person, seeing the great disorders that prevailed throughout all Media, resolved to take advantage of those troubles, and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He had a great reputation in his own country, and passed for a man, not only regular in his own conduct, but possessed of all the prudence and equity necessary for a governor.

L 3

(e) A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747. (f) Herod. l. i. c. 95.

As soon as he had formed the design of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been observed in him more conspicuous than ever: He succeeded so well, that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himself with great prudence; and his cares had all the success expected from them; for he brought the people of that village to a sober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual disorders suffered not to live in quiet, observing the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place where he presided as judge, began to address themselves to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increasing, all such as had any affair of consequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces, which they could meet with no where else.

When he found himself thus far advanced in his designs, he judged it a proper time to set his last engines to work for the compassing his point. He therefore retired from business, pretending to be over fatigued with the multitude of people, that resorted to him from all quarters; and would not exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the importunity of such as wished well to the publick tranquillity. Whenever any persons addressed themselves to him, he told them, that his own domestick affairs would not allow him to attend those of other people.

The licentiousness, which had been for some time restrained by the management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, as soon as he had withdrawn himself from the administration of affairs; and the evil increased to such a degree that the Medes were obliged to assemble, and deliberate upon the means of curing so dangerous a disorder.

There are different sorts of ambition: Some violent and impetuous, carry every thing as it were by storm, sticking at no kind of cruelty or murder: Another sort, more gentle, like that we are speaking of, puts
on

on an appearance of moderation and justice, working under ground (if I may use that expression) and yet arrives at her point as surely as the other.

Dejoces, who saw things succeeding according to his wish, sent his emissaries to the assembly, after having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for stopping the course of the publick evils came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in their turn, represented, that unless the face of the republick was entirely changed, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the present disorders was to elect a king, who should have authority to restrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could prosecute his own affairs in peace and safety; whereas the injustice, that now reigned in all parts, would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approved; and the whole company was convinced, that no expedient could be devised more effectual for curing the present evil than that of converting the state into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done, was to choose a king; and about this there deliberations were not long. They all agreed, there was not a man in Media so capable of governing as Dejoces; so that he was immediately with common consent elected king.

If we reflect in the least on the first establishment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatsoever, we shall find that the maintenance of order, and the care of the publick good, was the original design of monarchy. Indeed there would be no possibility of establishing order and peace, if all men were resolved to be independent, and would not submit to an authority, which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preserve the rest. Mankind must be perpetually at war if they will always be striving for dominion over others, or refuse to submit to the strongest. For the sake of their own peace and safety they must have a

a master, and must consent to obey him. This is the human origin of government. (b) And the scripture teacheth us, that the divine providence has not only allowed of the project, and the execution of it, but consecrated it likewise by an immediate communication of his own power.

There is nothing certainly nobler or greater than to see a private person, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the highest employments, and yet through inclination and modesty preferring a life of obscurity and retirement; than to see such a man sincerely refuse the offer made to him of reigning over a whole nation, and at last consent to undergo the toil of government, upon no other motive than that of being serviceable to his fellow citizens. His first disposition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and consequently with the dangers annexed to a sovereign power, shows him to have a soul more elevated and great than greatness itself, or to speak more justly, a soul superior to all ambition: Nothing can show him so perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of not his being so, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generously sacrifices his own quiet and satisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the publick, it is plain he understands what that sovereign power has in it really good, or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redressing various evils; of causing law and justice to flourish, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of establishing peace and plenty: And he comforts himself for the cares and troubles to which he is exposed, by the prospect of the many benefits resulting from them to the publick. Such a governor was Numa at Rome, and such have been some other emperors whom the people have constrained to accept the supreme power.

It

It must be owned (I cannot help repeating it) that there is nothing nobler or greater than such a disposition. But to put on the mask of modesty and virtue, in order to satisfy one's ambition, as Dejoces did; to affect to appear outwardly what a man is not inwardly; to refuse for a time, and then accept with a seeming repugnancy what a man earnestly desires, and what he has been labouring by secret under-hand practices to obtain; this double-dealing has so much meanness in it, that it necessarily lessens our opinion of the person, and extremely eclipses his merit, be his talents at the same time never so extraordinary.

(i) DEJOCES reigned fifty-three years. When Dejoces had ascended the throne, he endeavoured to convince the people, that they were not mistaken in the choice they had made of him, for restoring of order. At first he resolved to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inspire an awe and respect for his person. He obliged his subjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortified, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judged fittest to be his guards.

After having thus provided for his own security, he applied himself to polish and civilize his subjects, who having been accustomed to live in the country and in villages, almost without laws and without polity, had contracted a savage disposition. To this end he commanded them to build a city, marking out himself the place and circumference of the walls. This city was compassed about with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such a manner, that the outermost did not hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so of all the rest. The situation of the place was extremely favourable for such a design, for it was a regular hill, whose ascent was equal on every side. Within the last and smallest enclosure stood the king's palace, with all his treasures:

L 5

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In the sixth, which was next to that, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his household; and the intermediate spaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people: The first and largest enclosure was about the bigness of Athens. The name of the city was Ecbatana.

The prospect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for besides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the several parapets were painted formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finished, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to settle in it, he turned all his thoughts to composing of laws for the good of the state. But being persuaded, that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off [*major ex longinquo reverentia*, Tacit.] he began to keep himself at a distance from his people; was almost inaccessible and invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak, or communicate their affairs to him, but only by petitions, and the interposition of his officers. And even those that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

This great statesman acted in this manner, in order the better to secure to himself the possession of the crown. For having to deal with men yet uncivilised, and no very good judges of true merit, he was afraid that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occasion plots and conspiracies against growing power, which is generally looked upon with invidious and discontented eyes. But by keeping himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, and making himself known only by the wise laws he made, and the strict justice he took care to administer to every one, he acquired the respect and esteem of all his subjects.

It is said, that from the innermost part of his palace he saw every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all transactions. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment treading upon the heels of the offence.

offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stopped the course of violence and injustice.

Things might possibly pass in this manner to a certain degree during his administration: But there is nothing more obvious than the great inconveniencies necessarily resulting from the custom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the rest of the Eastern potentates; the custom, I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by spies, dispersed throughout his kingdom, of relying solely upon their sincerity for the truth of facts; of not suffering truth, the complaints of the oppressed, and the just reasons of innocent persons to be conveyed to him any other way than through foreign channels, that is by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted; men that stopped up all avenues to remonstrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greatest injustice themselves, with so much the more ease and assurance, as their iniquity remained undiscovered, and consequently unpunished. But besides all this, methinks, that very affectation in princes of being invisible, shows them to be conscious of their slender merit, which shuns the light, and dares not stand the test of a near examination.

Dejoces was so wholly taken up in humanising and softening the manners, and in making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterprise against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he did not die till after having reigned fifty-three years.

(k) PHRAORTES reigned twenty-two years. After the death of Dejoces, his son Phraortes, called otherwise * Aphraartes, succeeded. The sole affinity between these two names, would make one believe, that this is the king called in scripture Arphaxad: But that opinion has many other substantial reasons to support it, as may be seen in father Montfaucon's learned dissertation, of which I have

L 6

made

(k) A. M. 3347. Ant. J. C. 657. Her. c. 102.

* He is called so by Eusebius, Chron. Græc. and by Geor. Synach. Judith i. 1.

made great use in this treatise. The passage in Judith, *That Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ecbatana*, has deceived most authors, and made them believe, that Arphaxad must be Deioces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgar translation renders *ædificavit*, says only, (k) *That Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatana*. And what can be more natural, than that the father, not having entirely perfected so considerable a work, the son should put the last hand to it, and make such additions as were wanting.

(l) Phraortes, being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attacked the Persians; and, defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. Then strengthened by the accession of their troops, he attacked other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the Upper Asia, which comprehends all that lies north of mount Taurus, from Media, as far as the river Halys.

Elate with this good success, he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time indeed weakened through the revolt of several nations, but yet very powerful in themselves. Nabuchodonosor, their king, otherwise called Salsoduchinus, raised a great army in his own country, and * sent ambassadors to several other nations of the east, to require their assistance. They all refused him with contempt, and ignominiously treated his ambassadors, letting him see, that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in a slavish subjection.

The king, highly enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all those nations, and put them every one to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle ensued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his
cavalry

(k) Ἐπεσυνόμηνσε ἐν τῇ Ἐκβατόνῃ (l) Judith, Text, Gr. Her. l. i. c. 102.

* The Greek text places these embassies before the battle.

cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned and put into disorder, and Nabuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then taking advantage of the defeat and confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquests even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave the city to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered it, and stripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at last into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, who cruelly caused him to be shot to death with darts. After that he returned to Nineveh with all his army, which was still very numerous, and for four months together did nothing but feast and divert himself with those that had accompanied him in this expedition.

In Judith we read that the king of Assyria sent Holofernes, with a powerful army, to revenge himself of those that had refused him succours; the progress and cruelty of that commander, the general consternation of all the people, the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstand him, in hopes that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Assyrian army, are all related in the same book.

(*m*) **CYAXARES I.** reigned forty years. This prince succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave enterprising prince, and knew how to make his advantage of the late overthrow by the Assyrian army. He first settled himself well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all Upper Asia. But what he had most at heart was, to go and attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father by the destruction of that great city.

The Assyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of that great army, which was destroyed before Bethulia.

(*m*) A. M. 3369. Ant. J. C. 635. Herod. l. i. c. 103- 106.

Bethulia. A battle ensued, wherein the Assyrians were defeated and driven back to Nineveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid siege to the city, which was upon the point of falling inevitably into his hands, but that the time was not yet come when God designed to punish that city for her crimes, and for the calamities she had brought upon his people as well as other nations. It was delivered from its present danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was still marching under the conduct of king Madyes in pursuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to escape from the Scythians, who were advancing into Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this eruption, raised the siege from before Nineveh, and marched with all his forces against that mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent, was going to over-run all Asia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The Barbarians, finding no other obstacle in their way, overspread not only Media, but almost all Asia. After that they marched towards Egypt, from whence Psammiticus diverted their course by presents. They then returned into Palestine, where some of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient temple dedicated to that goddess. Some of these Scythians settled at Bethshean, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The Scythians for the space of twenty-eight years were masters of the Upper Asia, namely, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a treacherous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the
Scythians

Scythians massacred. The Medes then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient boundary westward.

(n) The remaining Scythians who were not at the banquets, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Halyattes, who received them with great humanity. This occasioned a war between those two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years with almost equal advantage on both sides. The battle fought in the sixth year was very remarkable, on account of an eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, when on a sudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this eclipse. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both sides, and made peace. Siennesis, king of Cilicia*, and Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render the friendship more firm and inviolable, the two princes agreed to strengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed, that Halyattes should give his daughter Aryenis, to Astyages, eldest son of Cyaxares.

The manner these people had of contracting alliance with one another is very remarkable. Besides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, they had this in particular; the two contracting parties made themselves incisions in the arms, and licked one another's blood.

(o) Cyaxares's first care, as soon as he found himself again in peace, was to resume the siege of Nineveh; which the eruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, joined with him in the league against the Assyrians. Having therefore united
their

(n) He i. c. 74. (o) A. M. 3378. Her. i. i. c. 206.

* In Herodotus he is called Labynetus.

their forces, they besieged Nineveh, took it, killed Sarracus the king, and utterly destroyed that mighty city.

God had foretold by his prophets above an hundred years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his servants, wherewith the kings thereof had gorged themselves, like ravenous lions; that he himself would march at the head of the troops that should come to besiege it; that he would cause consternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the merciless hands of the soldiers; that all the treasures of the city should fall into the hands of rapacious and insatiable plunderers; and that the city itself should be so totally and utterly destroyed, that not so much as a footstep of it should be left; and that the people should ask hereafter, Where did the proud city of Nineveh stand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themselves: (p) Woe to the bloody city (cries Nahum) it is all full of lies and robbery; (q) he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Israel. (r) I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the bounding chariots. The horseman lifteth up the bright sword and the glittering spear. (s) The shield of his mighty men is made red; the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning. (t) God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: Who can stand before his indignation? And who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? (u) Behold I am against thee, saith the Lord of Hosts: I will strip thee of all thy ornaments. (x) Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture.

She

- (p) Nahum iii. 1. (q) ii. 1, 2. (r) iii. 2, 3.
 (s) ii. 3, 4. (t) i. 2, 5, 6. (u) iii. 5. (x) ii. 9, 10.

She is empty, and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed; she is overthrown; she is desolate. (y) The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the * palace shall be dissolved. And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves taboring upon their breasts. (z) I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses; and there is no end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses. † (a) Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid: Where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine: (b) The Lord shall destroy Assur. He shall depopulate that city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling-place for wild beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, it shall be said, see that proud city which was so stately, and so exalted: which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures.

The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Nineveh; and Cyaxares, prosecuting his victories, made himself master of all the cities of the kingdom of Assyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolassar.

After this expedition Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his son Astyages.

(c) ASTYAGES reigned thirty-five years. This prince is called in scripture Ahafuerus. Though his reign was very

(y) Nahum ii. 6. (z) iii. 3. (a) ii. 11, 12. (b) Zephani. ii. 13—15.
(c) A. M. 3409. Ant. J. C. 595.

* The author in this place ren-
deth it, Her temple is destroyed to the
foundation. But I have chosen to
follow our English bible, though in
the Latin it is templum.

† This is a noble image of the

cruel avarice of the Assyrian kings
who pillaged and plundered all their
neighbouring nations, especially Ju-
dea, and carried away the spoils of
them to Nineveh.

very long, no less than thirty-five years, yet we have no particulars recorded of it in history. He had two children, whose names are famous, namely, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandana, by a former marriage. In his father's life-time he married Mandana to Cambyfes, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia: From this marriage sprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

CYAXARES II. This is the prince whom the scripture calls Darius the Mede.

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyfes, he united the kingdoms of the Medes and the Persians into one: In the sequel therefore of this discourse they will be considered only as one empire. I shall begin the history of that empire with the reign of Cyrus; which will include also what is known of the reigns of his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages. But I shall previously give some account of the kingdom of Lydia, because Croesus, its king, has a considerable share in the events of which I am to speak.

CHAP. IV.

The history of the LYDIANS.

(c) **T**HE kings, who first reigned over the Lydians are by Herodotus called Atyades, that is, descendants from Atys. These he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who before his time were called Mœonians.

These Atyades were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of five hundred and five years.

ARGO

[c] Herod. l. i. c. 7 -13.

(d) ARGO, great grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, was the first of the Heraclides who reigned in Lydia.

The last was

CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquisite beauty; and, being infatuated by his passion for her, was perpetually boasting of her charms to others. Nothing would serve him, but Gyges, one of his chief officers, should see, and judge of them by his own eyes *; as if the husband's own knowledge of them was not sufficient for his happiness, or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his silence. The king to this end placed Gyges secretly in a convenient place; but notwithstanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it; judging, as the historian represents it, that the most valuable treasure of a woman is her modesty, she studied a signal revenge for the injury she had received; and to punish the fault of her husband, committed a still greater crime. Possibly a secret passion for Gyges had as great share in that action, as her resentment for the dishonour done her. Be that as it will, she sent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime either by his own death, or the king's, at his own option. After some remonstrances to no purpose, he resolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules, became master of his queen and his throne. (e) By this means the kingdom passed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Mermnades.

Archilochus, the poet, lived at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, spoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place what is related by Herodotus, that amongst the Lydians, and almost all other Barbarians, it was reckoned shameful and infamous, even for a man to appear naked. These footsteps of modesty, which are met with amongst pagans, ought

(d) A. M. 2781. Ant. J. C. 1223. (e) A. M. 2386. Ant. J. C. 718.

* Non contentus voluptatum suarum silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset. *Justin* l. i. c. 7.

ought to be reckoned valuable. * We are assured, that among the Romans, a son, who was come to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a son-in-law with his father-in-law; and this modesty and decency were looked upon by them as a law of nature, the violation whereof was criminal. It is astonishing, that amongst us our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which, in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely condemned by paganism itself.

(f) Plato relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tells us, that Gyges wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without being seen himself; and that by means of this ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies, that, in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems, the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. This story thus explained carries in it a greater appearance of truth, than what we read in Herodotus.

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, † that if a wise man had such a ring, he would not use it to any wicked purpose; because virtue considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.

(g) GYGES reigned thirty-eight years. The murder of Candaules raised a sedition among the Lydians. The

(f) Plato de Rep. l. ii. p. 359

* Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum foceris generi, non lavantur. Retinenda est igitur hujus generis verecundia, præsertim natura ipsa magistra & duce. Cic. l. i. de offic. n. 129.

Nudare se nefas esse credebatur.

(g) Her. l. i. c. 13, 14.

Val. Max. l. ii. cap. 1.

† Hunc ipsum annulum si habeat sapiens, nihilo plus sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet. Honestæ enim bonis viris, non occulta quærentur. Lib. iii. de offic. n. 38.

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(b) A. M.
mt. J. C.
id. c. 21.

two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphick oracle, which declared in favour of Gyges. The king made large presents to the temple at Delphos, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's answer. Among other things of value Herodotus mentions six golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money, which is about forty-eight thousand pounds sterling.

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, he made war against Miletos, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states.

After he had reigned thirty-eight years, he died, and was succeeded by his son.

(b) ARDYS reigned forty-nine years. It was in the reign of this prince, that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythæ Nomades, went into Asia, and took the city of Sardis, but not the citadel.

(i) SADYATTES reigned twelve years. This prince declared war against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In those days the sieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and lasted many years. This king died before he had finished that of Miletos, and was succeeded by his son.

(k) HALYATTES reigned fifty-seven years. This is the prince who made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. He attacked, and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorously prosecuted the war against the Milesians, begun by his father; and continued the siege of their city, which had lasted six years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyattes, upon an answer he received from the Delphick oracle, had sent an ambassador to the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletos, having notice of his coming, ordered

(b) A. M. 3324. Ant. J. C. 680. Her. l. i. c. 15. (i) A. M. 3373. Ant. J. C. 631. Ibid. c. 16, 22. (k) A. M. 3385. Ant. J. C. 619. Ibid. c. 21, 22.

ordered all the corn, and other provisions, assembled by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the publick market; and commanded the citizens, at the sight of a signal that should be given, to be all in a general humour of feasting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador at his arrival was in the utmost surprise to see such a plenty in the market, and such chearfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, preferred peace to so fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

(*l*) CROESUS. His very name, which is become a proverb, carries in it an idea of immense riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphos, must have been excessively great. Most of those presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. (*m*) We may partly account for the treasures of this prince, from certain mines that he had, situate according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarnes; as also from the little river Pactolus, the sand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had not the same advantage.

(*n*) This uncommon affluence, which is a thing extraordinary, did not enervate or soften the courage of Croesus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. For his part he was perpetually in arms, made several conquests, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes, that he was the first conqueror of the Greeks, who till then had never been subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks, settled in Asia Minor.

But what is still more extraordinary in this prince, though he was so immensely rich, and so great a warrior,

(*l*) A. M. 3442. Ant. J. C. 562.
p. 680. (*n*) Her. l. i. c. 26—28.

(*m*) Strab. l. xiii. p. 625. & l. xiv.

yet his chief delight was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of those famous learned men, so revered by antiquity, and distinguished by the name of the seven wise men of Greece.

(o) Solon, one of the most celebrated amongst them, after having established new laws at Athens, thought he might absent himself for some years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation of so great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appeared in all his regal pomp and splendour, dressed in the most magnificent apparel, which was all over enriched with gold, and glittered with diamonds. Notwithstanding the novelty of this spectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the least moved at it, or that he uttered a word which discovered the least surprise or admiration; on the contrary, people of sense might sufficiently discern from his behaviour, that he looked upon all this outward pomp, as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatness and dignity consists. This coldness and indifference in Solon's first approach, gave the king no favourable opinion of his new guest.

He afterwards ordered all his treasures, his magnificent apartments, and costly furniture should be showed him; as if he expected by the multitude of his fine vessels, diamonds, statues, and paintings, to conquer the philosopher's indifference. But these things were not the king; and it was the king that Solon was come to visit, and not the walls or chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgement of the king, or an estimate of his worth, by these outward appendages, but by himself and his own personal qualities. Were we to judge at present by the same rule, we should find many of our great men wretchedly naked and desolate.

When Solon had seen all, he was brought back to the king. Cræsus then asked him, which of mankind in all his travels he had found the most truly happy. "One" Tellus (replied Solon) a citizen of Athens, a very honest "and

“ and good man, who had lived all his days without indigence, had always seen his country in a flourishing condition, had children that were universally esteemed, with the satisfaction of seeing those children’s children, and at last died gloriously in fighting for his country.”

Such an answer as this, in which gold and silver were accounted as nothing, seemed to Cræsus to argue a strange ignorance and stupidity. However, as he flattered himself of being ranked in the second degree of happiness, he asked him, “ Who of all those he had seen, was the next in felicity to Tellus.” Solon answered, “ Cleobis and Briton, of Argos, two brothers *, who had left behind them a perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the respect due from children to their parents. Upon a solemn festival, when their mother, a priestess of Juno, was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, the two sons put themselves to the yoke, and drew their mother’s chariot thither, which was above five miles distant. All the mothers of the place, ravished with admiration, congratulated the priestesses on the piety of her sons. She in transports of her joy and thankfulness earnestly intreated the goddess to reward her children with the best thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers were heard. When the sacrifice was over, her two sons fell asleep in the very temple, and there † died in a soft and peaceful slumber. In honour of their piety, the people of Argos consecrated statues to them in the temple of Delphos.”

“ What then (says Cræsus, in a tone that showed his discontent) you do not reckon me in the number of the happy?” Solon, who was not willing either to flatter, or exasperate him any further, replied calmly: “ King of Lydia, besides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a spirit of moderation and reserve, which has produced amongst us a plain, popular kind of philosophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or ostentation, and therefore not

“ well

* φιλαδελφὺς ἡφιλομήτορας διαφερόντως ἄνδρας.

† The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cause of it.

"well suited to the courts of kings: This philosophy, considering what an infinite number of vicissitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any prosperity we enjoy ourselves, or to admire happiness in others, which perhaps may prove only transient or superficial." From hence he took occasion to represent to him further, "That the life of man seldom exceeds seventy years, which make up in all six thousand two hundred and fifty days, of which two are not exactly alike; so that the time to come is nothing but a series of various accidents which cannot be foreseen. Therefore, in our opinion (continued he) no man can be esteemed happy, but he whose happiness God continues to the end of his life: As for others, who are perpetually exposed to a thousand dangers, we account their happiness as uncertain, as the crown is to a person that is still engaged in battle, and has not yet obtained the victory." Solon retired, when he had spoken these words, * which served only to mortify Cræsus, but not to reform him.

Æsop, the author of the fables was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandsome treatment Solon received, and said to him by way of advice; † "Solon, we must either not come near princes at all, or speak things that are agreeable to them. Say rather (reply'd Solon) that we should either never come near them at all, or else speak such things as may be for their good."

In Plutarch's time, some of the learned were of opinion, that this interview between Solon and Cræsus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as those dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail against the authority of several creditable writers, by whom this story is attested.

* Αυτίσας μὲν, ἢ νυκτιδίας δὲ τὸν Κρῆσον.

† Ὁ Σόλων (ἴφε) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἡδὺς ἦν ἡ ὥς ἔδισα ὁμιλεῖν. Καὶ ἔδισα μὲν Δί' (ἔπει) ἀλλ' ὥς ἡδὺς ἦν ἡ ἀνίστα. The jingle of the words ας "κισα ἢ ὥς ἔδισα, which is a beauty in the original, because it is founded in the sense, cannot be rendered into any other language.

What we have now related of Croesus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the most part are seduced by flattery; and shews us at the same time the two sources from whence that blindness generally proceeds. The one is, a secret inclination which all men have, but especially the great, of receiving praise without any precaution, and of judging favourably of all that admire them, or shew an unlimited submission and complaisance to their humours. The other is, the great resemblance there is between flattery and a sincere affection, or a reasonable respect; which is sometimes counterfeited so exactly, that the wisest may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Croesus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in history, was a very good prince, and worthy of esteem in many respects. He had a great deal of good-nature, affability, and humanity. His palace was a receptacle for men of wit and learning; which shews, that he himself was a person of learning, and had a taste for the sciences. His weakness was, that he laid a great stress upon riches and magnificence, thought himself great and happy in proportion to his possessions, mistook regal pomp and splendour for true and solid greatness, and fed his vanity with the excessive submissions of those, that stood in a kind of adoration before him.

Those learned men, those wits and other courtiers, that surrounded this prince, eat at his table, partook of his pleasures, shared his confidence, and enriched themselves by his bounty and liberality, took care not to differ from the prince's taste, and never thought of undeceiving him, with respect to his errors, or false ideas. On the contrary, they made it their business to cherish and fortify them in him, extolling him perpetually as the most opulent prince of his age, and never speaking of his wealth or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; because they knew this was the sure way to please him, and to secure his favour. For flattery is nothing else but a commerce of falsehood and lying founded upon interest on one side, and vanity on the other.

Th

* Ple
quando v
utile. C
possis?
credat.
si illi sem

The flatterer desires to advance himself, and make his fortune; the prince to be praised and admired, because he is his own first flatterer, and carries within himself a more subtle and better prepared poison than any adulation gives him.

That saying of Æsop, who had formerly been a slave, and still retained somewhat of the spirit and character of slavery, tho' he had varnished it over with the address of an artful courtier, that saying of his, I say, to Solon, "That we should either not come near kings, or say what is agreeable to them," shews us with what kind of men Cræsus had filled his court, and by what means he had banished all sincerity, integrity, and duty, from his presence. Therefore we see he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philosopher, upon which he ought to have set an infinite value; as he would have done, had he but understood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himself to the person, and not to the fortune of a prince, has the courage to tell him disagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to self-love at the present, but that may prove very salutary and serviceable for the future. *Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, sed quod audisse semper volunt.* These are Seneca's words, where he is endeavouring to shew, of what great use a faithful and sincere friend may be to a prince: and what he adds further seems to be writ on purpose for Cræsus: * "Give him (says he) wholesome advice. Let a word of truth once reach those ears, which are perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You'll ask me, what service can be done to a person arrived at the highest pitch of felicity? It will teach him not to trust in his prosperity; it will remove that vain confidence he has in his power and greatness, as if they were to endure for ever; make him understand, that every-thing, which belongs to, and depends upon fortune, is as unstable as herself;

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" and

* Plenas aures adulationibus alioquando vera vox intret; da consilium utile. Quæris, quid felici præstare possis? Effice, ne felicitati suæ credat. Parum in illum contuleris, si illi semel stultam fiduciam perman-

suræ semper potentiæ excusseris, docuerisque mobilia esse quæ dedit casus; ac sæpe inter fortunam maximam & ultimam nihil interesse. *Sen. de benef. l. 6. c. 33.*

“ and that there is often but the space of a moment between the highest elevation and the most unhappy downfall.”

(p) It was not long before Croesus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him. He had two sons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual subject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was distinguished by every good quality, and his great consolation and delight. The father dream'd one night, which made a great impression upon his mind, that this beloved son of his was to perish by iron. This became a new source of anxiety and trouble, and care is taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partizans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention is made of armies, wars, or sieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earnestly importuned his father, that he would give him leave to be present, at least as a spectator. The king could not refuse him that request, but let him go under the care of a discreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adrastus. And this very Adrastus, as he was aiming to fling his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. 'Tis impossible to express either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, stabbing himself in the breast with his own sword, upon the funeral-pile of the unfortunate Atys.

(q) Two years were spent on this occasion in deep mourning, the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss he had sustained. But the growing reputation, and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himself known, roused him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a stop to the power of the Persians, which was enlarging itself every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter

upon

upon any enterprize, without consulting the gods. But, that he might not act blindly, and to be able to form a certain judgment of the answers he should receive, he was willing to assure himself before-hand of the truth of the oracles. For which purpose, he sent messengers to all the most celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to enquire, every one at his respective oracle, what Croesus was doing on such a day, and such an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually observed; and of all the oracles, none gave a true answer but that of Delphos. The answer was given in Greek hexameter-verses, and was in substance as follows: *I know the number of the grains of sand on the sea-shore, and the measure of the ocean's vast extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learnt to speak. A strong smell of a tortoise boiled in brass, together with sheep's flesh, has reached my nostrils, brass beneath, brass above.* And indeed the king, thinking to invent something that could not possibly be guess'd at, had employed himself, on the day and hour set down, in boiling a tortoise and a lamb in a brass pot, which had a brass cover. St. Austin observes in several places, that God, to punish the blindness of the Pagans, sometimes permitted the devils to give answers conformable to the truth.

Croesus, thus assured of the god's veracity, whom he designed to consult, offered three thousand victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of vessels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of an hundred and seventeen, to augment the treasures of the Delphic temple. Each of these ingots weighed at least two talents; besides which, he made several other presents: amongst others, Herodotus, mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two vessels of an extraordinary bigness, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and an half and twelve minas; the other of silver, which contained six hundred of the measures called amphoras. All these presents, and many more, which for brevity's sake I omit, were to be seen in the time of Herodotus.

The messengers were ordered to consult the god upon two points; first, whether Crœsus should undertake a war against the Persians; secondly, if he did, whether he should require the succour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle answered upon the first article, that if he carried his arms against the Persians, he would subvert a great empire; upon the second, that he would do well to make alliances with the most powerful states of Greece. He consulted the oracle again, to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The answer was; it should subsist till a mule came to possess the throne of Media; which he construed to signify the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Pursuant to the direction of the oracle, Crœsus enter'd into alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pissistratus at their head, and with the Lacedemonians, who were indisputably the two most powerful states of Greece.

(r) A certain Lydian, much esteemed for his prudence, gave Crœsus on this occasion very judicious advice. "O prince, (says he to him) why do you think of turning your arms against such a people as the Persians, who, being born in a wild, rugged country, are inur'd from their infancy to every kind of hardship and fatigue, who being coarsely clad, and coarsely fed, can content themselves with bread and water; who are absolute strangers to all the delicacies and conveniencies of life; who, in a word, have nothing to lose, if you conquer them, and every thing to gain, if they conquer you; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our country, if they should once come to taste the sweets and advantages of it? So far therefore from thinking of beginning a war against them, 'tis my opinion we ought to thank the gods, that they have never put it into the heads of the Persians to come and attack the Lydians." But Crœsus had taken his resolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the history of Crœsus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I am now going to begin.

B O O K

BOOK THE FOURTH.

THE
FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE
OF THE
PERSIANS AND MEDES,
By CYRUS:

Containing the reigns of CYRUS, of CAMBYSES, and
SMERDIS the Magus.

CHAP. I.

The history of Cyrus.

THE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit in this respect than the former. As to those facts wherein they differ, I shall briefly relate what Herodotus says of them. 'Tis well known, that Xenophon served a long time under Cyrus the younger, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, that he might acquaint himself by their means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince, who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*: "Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure to inform myself of his birth, his natural temper, and education, that I might know by what means he

" became so great a prince : and herein I advance nothing
 " but what has been told me."

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, " That * Xenophon's design, in writing the
 " history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as
 " to give a model of a just government ;" this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates are to be deemed true ; and of this their conformity with the holy scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the abbot Banier upon this subject, in the (s) *Memoirs of the academy of polite literature.*

For the greater clearness, I divide the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the siege of Babylon : The second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with every thing else that relates to that great event : The third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

ARTICLE I.

The history of Cyrus from his infancy to the siege of Babylon.

THIS interval, besides his education, and the journey he made to his grand-father Astyages in Media, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

SECT. I.

(s) Vol. 6. p. 400.

* Cyrus ille a Xenophonte, non ad historię fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justı imperii.

S E C T. I. *Cyrus's education.*

(i) **CYRUS** was the son of Cambyfes, king of Perfia, and of Mandana, daughter to Aftyages, king of the Medes. (u) He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandana.

The Perfians confifted at this time of twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vaft country, which has fince borne the name of Perfia, and were not in all above an hundred and twenty thoufand men. But this people having afterwards, thro' the wifdom and valour of Cyrus, acquir'd the empire of the eaft, the name of Perfia extended itfelf with their conquelts and fortune, and comprehended all that vaft tract of land, which reaches from eaft to weft, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to fouth, from the Cafpian fea to the ocean. And ftill to this day the country of Perfia has the fame extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his perfon, and ftill more lovely for the qualities of his mind; was of a very fweet difpofition, full of good-nature and humanity, had a great defire to learn, and a noble ardor for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or difcouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Perfians, which were excellent in thofe days, with refpect to education.

(x) The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was look'd upon as the moft important duty, and the moft effential part of government: It was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whofe blind affection and fondnefs often render them incapable of that office; but the ftate took it upon themfelves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where every-thing was regulated, the place and length of their exercifes, the times of eating, the quality

M 5

of

(i) Xen. Cyrop. l. i. p. 3. (u) A. M. 3405. Ant. J. C. 599.

(x) Cyrop. l. i. p. 3—8.

of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children, or the young men, was bread, cresses, and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: Besides, they consider'd, that a plain frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragoos, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and atigues of war to a good old age.

Here boys went to school, to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punish'd amongst them, was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced how much better it is to prevent faults, than to punish them: And whereas in other states the legislators are satisfied with establishing punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals amongst them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age the boys remained in the class of children; and here it was they learnt to draw the bow, and to sling the dart or javelin; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this they were more narrowly watch'd, and kept under, than before, because that age requires the narrowest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up, and formed; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of these all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the publick council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

By these means every citizen might aspire at the chief posts in the government; but not one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and made himself capable of them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only, as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

(y) Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.

SECT. II. *Cyrus's journey to his grandfather Astyages, and his return into Persia.*

WHEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandana took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who, from the many things he had heard said in favour of that young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, had his * eyes colour'd, his face painted, and his hair embellish'd with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be drest in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets;

M 6

whereas

(y) Cyrop. l. 1. p. 8—12.

* The ancients, in order to set off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, used to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eye-lashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. 'Tis said of

Jezebel; Depinxit oculos suos stibio, 2 Kings ix. 30. This drug had an astringent quality, which shrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty, Plin. l. 33. c. 6. From hence comes that epithet, which Homer so often gives to his goddesses: Βορπις; Ἡσὶν great eyes'd Juno.

whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and coarse. All this finery did not affect Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every-body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vast plenty, and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus look'd upon with great indifference; at which, observing Astyages to be surpris'd: "The Persians (says he to the king) instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose." Astyages desiring Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to shew his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular consideration, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him: "Is that all, papa? (replied Cyrus) if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I'll quickly obtain it; for I'll take upon me to serve you better than he." Immediately Cyrus is equip'd as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance,

nance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace, that charmed both Aſtyages and Mandana. When he had done, he flung himſelf upon his grandfather's neck, and kiſſing him, cry'd out with great joy; * "O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art undone; I ſhall have thy place." Aſtyages embraced him with great fondneſs, and ſaid: "I am mighty well pleaſed, my dear child: nobody can ſerve with a better grace: but you have forgot one eſſential ceremony, which is that of taſting." And indeed the cup-bearer was uſed to pour ſome of the liquor into his left-hand, and to taſte it, before he preſented it to the king. "No (reply'd Cyrus) it was not through forgetfulneſs that I omitted that ceremony. Why then (ſays Aſtyages) for what reaſon did you do it? Be cauſe I apprehended there was poiſon in the liquor. Poiſon, child? how could you think ſo? Yes; poiſon, papa: for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the gueſts had drank a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned: they ſung, made a noiſe, and talked they did not know what: you yourſelf ſeemed to have forgot you were king, and they that they were ſubjects; and when you would have danced, you could not ſtand upon your legs. Why, (ſays Aſtyages) have you never ſeen the ſame thing happen to your father? No, never (ſays Cyrus.) What then? how is it with him when he drinks? Why, when he has drank, his thirſt is quenched; and that's all."

We cannot too much admire the ſkill of the hiſtorian, in his giving ſuch an excellent leſſon of ſobriety in this ſtory. He might have done it in a ſerious, grave way, and have ſpoke with the air of a philoſopher: for Xenophon, as much a warrior as he was, yet was he as excellent a philoſopher as his maſter Socrates. But inſtead of that, he puts the inſtruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a ſtory, which in the original is told with all the wit and agreeableneſs imaginable.

Mandana

* Ω Σάκας, ἀπρόλας ἐκάλω σε τῆς τιμῆς.

whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and course. All this finery did not affect Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every-body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vast plenty, and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus look'd upon with great indifference; at which, observing Astyages to be surpris'd: "The Persians (says he to the king) instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose." Astyages desiring Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to shew his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular consideration, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him: "Is that all, papa? (replied Cyrus) if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I'll quickly obtain it; for I'll take upon me to serve you better than he." Immediately Cyrus is equip'd as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance,

nance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace, that charmed both Aſtyages and Mandana. When he had done, he flung himſelf upon his grandfather's neck, and kiſſing him, cry'd out with great joy; * "O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art undone; I ſhall have thy place." Aſtyages embraced him with great fondneſs, and ſaid: "I am mighty well pleaſed, my dear child: nobody can ſerve with a better grace: but you have forgot one eſſential ceremony, which is that of taſting." And indeed the cup-bearer was uſed to pour ſome of the liquor into his left-hand, and to taſte it, before he preſented it to the king. "No (reply'd Cyrus) it was not through forgetfulneſs that I omitted that ceremony. Why then (ſays Aſtyages) for what reaſon did you do it? Be cauſe I apprehended there was poiſon in the liquor. Poiſon, child? how could you think ſo? Yes; poiſon, papa: for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the gueſts had drank a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned: they ſung, made a noiſe, and talked they did not know what: you yourſelf ſeemed to have forgot you were king, and they that they were ſubjects; and when you would have danced, you could not ſtand upon your legs. Why, (ſays Aſtyages) have you never ſeen the ſame thing happen to your father? No, never (ſays Cyrus.) What then? how is it with him when he drinks? Why, when he has drank, his thirſt is quenched; and that's all."

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Mandana

* Ω Σάκα, ἀπρόλογος ἐκβαλῶ σε τῆς τιμῆς.

Mandana being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully comply'd with the repeated instances his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of the country, and its craggy mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, officious, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his; and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the * Babylonians (this was Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar) at a hunting match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to shew his bravery, to make an eruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory, which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

(z) The year after, his father recalling him, that he might accomplish his time in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion shewed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horse-back; and when

(z) A. M. 3421. Ant. J. C. 583.

* In Xenophon this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not con-

found with those of Niniveh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Niniveh, the capital thereof.

when the sad moment came, that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners. But when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared, that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's class, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

SECT. III. *The first campaign of Cyrus, who goes to succour his uncle Cyaxares against the Babylonians.*

(a) **A**STYAGES, king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. Cyaxares was no sooner in the throne, but he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed, that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others Croesus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares therefore dispatched ambassadors to Cambyfes, to

(a) A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyrop. l. i. c. 22—27.

to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known, that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry (for the Persians as yet had no cavalry); but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of which was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made a thousand in all: and these were the officers that were called * *ὀμότιμοι* and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pikemen, ten slingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to one and thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to this choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom after having highly praised for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. "Do you know (says he to them) the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? they are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting either the toil of war, or the sight of danger: whereas you, that are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce to your meals; fatigues are your pleasure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of our cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. 'Tis the enemy that attacks us, and 'tis our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more just, than to repel the injury they would bring upon us? Is there any thing more honourable, than to fly to the assistance of

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* *Men of the same dignity.*

" our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition, without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection: for you know 'tis my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner."

(b) Soon after, Cyrus set out without loss of time: but before his departure, he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyfes had often taught him to consider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin: Whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those they love to undertake what is most expedient for them; which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and consult them.

Cambyfes accompanied his son as far as the fronties of Persia; and in the way gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing, that related to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. " Have your masters (says Cambyfes to him) given you any instructions concerning Œconomy, that is to say, concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises, of exciting a generous emulation amongst them, of making yourself obeyed, esteemed and beloved by your soldiers?" Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. " What is it then
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" your masters have taught you? They have taught me to fence (replied the prince) to draw the bow, to sling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp." Cambyfes, fmiling, gave his fon to underftand, that they had taught him nothing of what was moft material and effential for a good officer, and an expert commander to know. And in one fingle converfation, which certainly deferves to be well ftudied by all young gentlemen defigned for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all his celebrated mafters had done, in the courfe of feveral years. I fhall give but one fhort inftance of his difcourfe, which may ferve to give the reader an idea of the reft.

The queftion was, what are the proper means of making the foldiers obedient and fubmiffive? " The way to effect that (fays Cyrus) feems to be very eafy, and very certain; it is only to praife and reward thofe that obey, to punifh and ftigmatife fuch as fail in their duty."—" You fay well (replied Cambyfes;) that is the way to make them obey you by force, but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now the fure method of effecting this is, to convince thofe you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themfelves; for all mankind readily fubmit to thofe of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle from whence that blind fubmiffion proceeds, which you fee fick perfons pay to their phyfician, travellers to their guide, and a fhip's company to the pilot. Their obedience is only founded upon their perfuafion, that the phyfician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more fkilful and knowing in their refpective callings, than themfelves."—" But what fhall a man do, (fays Cyrus to his father) to appear more fkilful and expert than others?"—" He muft really be fo (replied Cambyfes;) and in order to be fo, he muft apply himfelf clofely to his profef-
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" most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprises; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success."

(c) As soon as Cyrus had reached Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to two hundred thousand foot, and sixty thousand horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarce amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient, than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, besides that it would have taken too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser, Cyrus was of opinion, that they should be armed with such weapons, as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was mightily approved, and instantly put in execution.

(d) Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops, and inspired them with a surprising emulation by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. As for money, the only value he set upon it was to give it away. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a sword or something of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought

(c) Cyrop. l. ii. p. 38—40.

(d) Cyrop. l. ii. p. 44.

thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. (e) "A commander could not (he said) give actual proofs of his munificence to every body, and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good-will; for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents, yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and humanity; by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so."

(f) One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him that some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he desired his presence immediately. "For that purpose (says he) I have brought you a rich garment, for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour."

Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king; though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not (as the * Greek text has it) polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament. Cyaxares seeming at first a little displeased at it: "If I had dressed myself in purple (says Cyrus) and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour, than I do now, by my expedition, and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and dispatch your orders are obeyed?"

Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king their master, to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians, and that they had orders, as soon as they

heard

(e) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 207.

(f) Ibid. p. 56.

* Ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ γλῶσσῃ οὐδὲν εἰς ὁμοειδὲς μεταφράσθαι. A fine expression, but not to be rendered into any other language with the same beauty.

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heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to alledge on their part; to the end that the king their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those, who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power. To be influenced only by justice, to consult no advantage from the division of neighbours, but to declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel, that he declared for the Medes.

(g) The king of Armenia, who was a vassal to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold on this occasion to shake off their yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay them the accustomed tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his design secret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed a great hunting-match on that side of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear, till a signal was given. After some days hunting, when they were come pretty near to the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers; and sent Chrysanthus with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters

(g) A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557. Cyrop. l. ii, p. 58—61. and l. iii. p. 62—70.

masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire, in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasure.

This being done, he sends an herald to the king of Armenia, to summon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time ordered his troops to advance. Never was court in greater surprise and perplexity. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done; and was not in a condition to support it. However he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters; and in the mean time dispatched his youngest son, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts, that Cyrus was coming upon their heels, he entirely lost all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people, that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them, if they staid in their houses; but as many as were taken running away, should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand, they that were conducting the princesses to the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysanthes had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wife, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence; where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought to the midst of the army. At that very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a spectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addressing himself to him, said; " Prince, you are come very

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"seasonably to be present at the trial of your father." And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes; and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were there in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank, than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war against Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat had concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether by virtue of that treaty he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country? It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all publick and notorious. "For what reason then (continued Cyrus) have you violated the treaty in every article?"—"For no other (replied the king) than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off a yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the same condition." "It is really glorious (answered Cyrus) to fight in defence of liberty: But if any one, after he is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him?"—"I must confess says (the king) I would punish him?"—"And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to commit malversations, would you continue him in his post?"—"No, certainly; I would put another in his place."—"And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices?"—"I would strip him of them."—"But, which is still worse, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would

" would you treat him ?"—" Though I should pass sentence upon myself (replied the king) I must declare the truth : I would put him to death." At these words Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments : The women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect : " Great prince, can you think it consistent with your wisdom to put my father to death, even against your own interest ?"—" How against my interest ?" (replies Cyrus). " Because he never was so capable of doing you service."—" How do you make that appear ? do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour ?"—" They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For of inestimable value is wisdom : Are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it ?—Now it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs ; but you have happily accomplished all yours ; and with that expedition and secrecy, that he has found himself surrounded, and taken, before he expected to be attacked ; and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him."—" But your father (replied Cyrus) has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom."—" The fear of evils (answered Tigranes) when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger, and more prevailing motive, than any whatever : And there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives, and children, all restored to him with such a generosity : Where can you find, illustrious prince, in

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"one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to
"attach him to your service."

"Well then (replied Cyrus, turning to the king) if
"I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what
"number of men, and what sum of money, will you as-
"sist us in the war against the Babylonians?"—"My
"troops and treasures (says the Armenian king) are no
"longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raise
"forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as to
"money, I reckon, including the treasure which my fa-
"ther left me, there are about three thousand talents re-
"ady money. All these are wholly at your disposal."
Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the
king the other half, for the defence of the country against
the * Chaldeans, with whom he was at war. The annual
tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and in-
stead of fifty talents exacted an hundred, and borrowed
the like sum over and above in his own name. "But
"what would you give me (added Cyrus) for the ransom
"of your wives?"—"All that I have in the world,"
(answered the king.) "And for the ransom of your
"children?"—"The same thing."—"From this time
"then you are indebted to me the double of all your pos-
"sessions."—"And you, Tigranes, at what price would
"you redeem the liberty of your lady?" Now he had
but lately married her, and was passionately fond of her.
"At the price (says he) of a thousand lives if I had
"them?" Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent,
and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine
what transports of joy there must have been on this oc-
casion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various
subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a
governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for
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"Well then (replied Cyrus, turning to the king) if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?"—"My troops and treasures (says the Armenian king) are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raise forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as to money, I reckon, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about three thousand talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal." Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the * Chaldeans, with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted an hundred, and borrowed the like sum over and above in his own name. "But what would you give me (added Cyrus) for the ransom of your wives?"—"All that I have in the world," (answered the king.) "And for the ransom of your children?"—"The same thing."—"From this time then you are indebted to me the double of all your possessions."—"And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your lady?" Now he had but lately married her, and was passionately fond of her. "At the price (says he) of a thousand lives if I had them?" Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been on this occasion.

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"accident I lost him." Cyrus pressing him to tell him; "My father, (continued Tigranes) seeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, was jealous it might be of some ill consequence, and put him to death. But he was so honest a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words: *Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.*"—"O the excellent man! (cried Cyrus) never forget the last advice he gave you."

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, as in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. "And you (says Tigranes, addressing himself to his lady) what do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment?"—"I do not know (replied the lady) I did not observe him."—"Upon what object then did you fix your eyes?"—"Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty."

The next day, the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper, for several reasons, to give so circumstantial an account of this affair; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find of it in Xenophon.

In the first place, it may serve to give the reader a notion of the style of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, whose natural and unaffected beauties are sufficient to justify the singular esteem, which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance; what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time, what a wonderful simplicity and delicacy of thought are there, in the answer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her husband!

In the second place, those short, close and pressing interrogations, each of which demanded a direct, precise answer, from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and shew in what manner he retained the taste of his master.

Besides this relation will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*: the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules he lays down upon government. Thus much therefore in the event we are treating of is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him suddenly, and before he suspected any designs were formed against him, made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his quota of troops; and after all so won upon him by his humanity, and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfullest and most affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian than to history itself.

I should never have found out myself, what the story of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father signified, though I was very sensible it was a kind of enigma, and figurative of something else. * A person of quality, one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the last age,

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* M. le Comte Tresvilles.

who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, explained it to me many years ago, which I have not forgot, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, whom the state of Athens became jealous of, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, which he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to miss this opportunity of manifesting such qualities in my hero, as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle people by their glaring outside: But an inward stock of goodness, compassion, and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve, even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest; a constant and unalterable care always to have right on his side, and to imprint such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and lastly such a clemency, as to distinguish those who offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them an opportunity to return to their duty: These are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but shone out most conspicuously in Cyrus.

(b) To return to my subject. Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harraided his country by their inroads, and by that means

means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strong holds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus expected no other from them, and had only placed them there, to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And, indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them he was not come to injure them, or to ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, and to set them at liberty. Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a good garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.

Cyrus understanding that there was frequent commerce and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct his ambassador, whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money, from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia, and promised that if the gods crowned his designs with success, that potentate should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The amb

sador set out the next day, accompanied with some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea, who were directed by their master to act with all possible dexterity, and to do Cyrus's merit all possible justice.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: So that he arrived in Media, with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army, than he had when he left it.

SECT. IV. *The expedition of CYAXARES and CYRUS against the Babylonians: The first battle.*

(i) **B**OTH parties had been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. Cyrus, finding their troops full of ardor, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares his leading them against Assyria. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to ease him as soon as possible, of the care and expence of maintaining two armies; that it was better they should eat up the enemy's country, than Media; that so bold a step, as that of going to meet the Assyrians, might be capable of spreading a terror in their army, and at the same time inspire their own with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyfes, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon therefore as the customary sacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure

(i) A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556. Cyrop. l. iii. p. 78—87.

of courage and prudence as was necessary, and, in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer : And indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour : After which, they began, to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance forwards, and march up to them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country ; and, according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of their army, covered his troops with several little hills and villages. Several days nothing was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, * *Jupiter protector & conductor*. He then caused the ordinary hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardor (*θεοσεβῆς*) answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and an universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should

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* I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Persian gods by the names of the gods of his own country.

command. "For it is observable (says the historian) in this place, that on these occasions, those that fear the deity most, are the least afraid of men." On the side of the Assyrians, the troops armed with bows, slings, and darts, made thier discharges, before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Croesus, and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to sustain so rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to the very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their entrenchments, founded a retreat.

(k) The Assyrians, in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost; were in a dreadful consternation. (l) As soon as Croesus found them in so great a disorder, he fled, and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none. He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him, how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an army to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not lose the fruits of victory by too much vivacity: Moreover, that he did not care to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose, to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of

(k) Cyrop. lib. iv. p. 87, 104.

(l) Ibid. l. vi. p. 160.

the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now, but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

Cyrus marched away in pursuit of the enemy, and was followed by the greatest part of the Median soldiers. Upon the way he met some couriers, that were coming to him from the * Hyrcanians, who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as soon as ever he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in effect they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time, and having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Croesus had sent away his wives in the night-time for coolness (for it was the summer season) and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and desolation. Many of those that ran away, being warmly pursued, were killed; all that staid in the camp, surrendered; the victory was compleat, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses they took in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and for the prisoners, he gave them all their liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire security.

Whilst the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths prepared for them; that at their return they might have nothing to do, but to sit down

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and

* These are not the Hyrcanians by the Caspian sea. From observing Cyrus's encampments in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture, that

the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days journey south of Babylon.

and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity, in regard to their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments, and the division of the spoil; and that they would shew a preference of their interests and conveniencies before their own; giving them to understand, that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing a new harvest of victories to them over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them to send nothing but bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided (he said) with all they wanted, either for their ragoo's, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragoo, and water from the river their only drink. For that was the way of living, to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the division of the spoils. Cyrus in the first place ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was properest to be offered to the gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained amongst the whole army. They earnestly desired, that the Persians might preside in the distribution; but the Persians absolutely refused it, so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

(*m*) The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy, Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and

had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning when he awaked, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he dispatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who in return writ him a respectful letter; in which however he expressed himself with a generous and noble freedom, justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him of taking as many Medes with him, as were willing to follow him. At the same time Cyrus sent into Persia, for an augmentation of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.

(n) Amongst the prisoners of war they had taken, there was a young princess of most exquisite beauty, which they reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus, of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear (as he said) such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view.

(o) This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: For it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of any thing that tended or related to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended, that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition, " I have seen a great many persons (says he) that have thought themselves very strong, wretchedly overcome
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(n) Ibid. l. v. p. 114, 117. & l. vi. p. 153, 155.

(o) Lib. i. p. 34.

" by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution ;
 " who have owned afterwards, with shame and grief,
 " that their passion was a bondage and slavery, from
 " which they had not the power to redeem themselves ;
 " an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies
 " and human efforts ; a kind of * bond or necessity,
 " more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron."
 " Fear nothing (replied Araspes) I am sure of myself,
 " and I will answer with my life, I shall do nothing
 " contrary to my duty." Nevertheless his passion for this
 young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a
 height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he
 was upon the point of using violence with her. The
 princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his con-
 duct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with
 orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This
 officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, up-
 braiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and
 with such rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him
 into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and
 anguish, burst into a flood of tears ; and being overwhelm-
 ed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, had
 not a word to say for himself. Some days afterwards, Cy-
 rus sent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trem-
 bling. Cyrus took him aside, and, instead of reproaching
 him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him ;
 acknowledging, that he himself was to blame, for having
 imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy.
 By such an unexpected kindness the young nobleman
 recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy,
 and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of
 tears. " Alas ! (says he) now I am come to the know-
 ledge of myself, and find most plainly, that I have
 " two souls ; one, that inclines me to good ; another,
 " that incites me to evil. The former prevails, when
 " you speak to me, and come to my relief : When I
 " am alone, and left to myself, I give way to and am
 " overpowered by the latter." Araspes made an advan-
 tageous

* Ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἥ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτοῦ.

tageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.

(p) The loss of so brave an officer, whom discontent was supposed to have engaged in the enemy's party, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit; whereby she meant her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handsomely she had been treated by the generous conqueror. "And how (cried out Abradates) shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?" "By behaving towards him (replied Panthea) as he hath done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his respects to so great a benefactor: "You see before you (says he to him) the tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the faithfullest ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service." Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, and withal with so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that great prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

(q) Two Assyrian noblemen, likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Assyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's son, and for that reason had sent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened

(p) Cyrop. l. vi. p. 155, 156.

(q) Ibid. l. iv. p. 111, 113.

happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king's son had missed. The latter, who was of a passionate and savage nature, immediately struck the gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. (r) This young king was called Laborosoarchod: He reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonid, called also Labynit and Balthasar, who reigned seventeen years.

(s) The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadates: He was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne; because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman, whom he should choose for a wife.

(t) The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus, and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire, he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out therefore with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cy-

rus

(r) A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

(s) Cyrop. l. v. p. 123, 124

(t) Lib. v. p. 119, 123.

rus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country: Then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestick shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I willingly accept your gold and silver (says Cyrus) and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongst the nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be their own riches nor yours, which they will set their esteem upon. I can assure you, there are many amongst them, that would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods." Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he steadfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and eat with him and his officers. The ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was all the beds and couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit; and above all things he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent chearfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

(u) Cyrus, always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country

country of the * Sacæ and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whose intelligence with the Persians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, offered himself to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the Sacæ furnished ten thousand foot and two thousand horse archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gadates for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit this conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a personal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a single combat: But his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of a truce, or treaty, with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

When

* *Not the Sacæ of Scythia.*

(x) When he came near the frontiers, he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country; and an army, that was still going to receive an augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewise advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very fine and numerous. The sight of those troops re-kindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a conversation with his uncle, for explaining himself with more freedom. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both sides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses; and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the

the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

(y) Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Croesus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares, and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date, that precisely fixes the years, wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Croesus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides, for carrying on the important war which was begun, and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

(z) Cyrus then about this time had thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after his departure, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares on this occasion gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage* to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful sense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it; but thought himself not at liberty to accept it, till he

(y) Cyrop. l. i p. 148—151

* Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable, that either of them should wait till that age, before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Besides, at that rate, Cambyzes would have been but seven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he

(z) Ibid. l. viii. p. 228, 229.

made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of archbishop Usher. I have also left out what it related in the Cyropædia, (l. viii. p. 228.) that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages, the young princess had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old.

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he had the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence, which all children ought to shew to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improving the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

(a) Foreseeing (says Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it extremely. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise, as if the enemy had been always in sight.

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey, only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniencies in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

(b) In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with

(a) Cyrop. l. vi. p. 151.

(b) Ibid. p. 156, 157.

with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience, as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in effect to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not find in this last circumstance the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant, that it was an open violation of the laws of nations to send spies to an enemy's court, under the title of ambassadors; which is a character, that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery?

(c) Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle, like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart, or shoot an arrow the most dextrously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived, that the captains took a particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and shewed them all possible favour for their encouragement. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited

excited an universal ardour throughout his army. In a word, he was a general, who in repose, as well as action, nay, even, in his pleasures, his meals, conversations and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and compleat warrior.

(d) In the mean time, the Indian embassadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Croesus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great succour was marching, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Croesus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by accounts brought in, both by the prisoners and the spies.

(e) Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news, But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears, and revived their courage.

(f) Cyrus had taken all proper measures, that his army should be provided with all necessaries; and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down

(d) *Cyrop.* l. vii. p. 178.

(e) *Pag.* 159.

(f) *Pag.* 158—163.

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(d) *Cyrop.* l. vi. p. 178.

(e) *Pag.* 159.

(f) *Pag.* 158—163.

down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well, that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances; in the same manner, as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of one single wheel though never so small.

(g) This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names; and making use of a low, but significant comparison, he used to say, "He thought it strange that an artificer should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent, as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use of, in all his enterprises and operations." Besides, he was persuaded, that such attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe, they are both known and esteemed by their general.

(h) When all the preparations were finished, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media, with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.

Cyrus, who understood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to meet them in their territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition, and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine, this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army,

(g) Cyrop. l. v. p. 131, 132.

(h) Ibid. l. vi. p. 160, 161.

or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

SECT. V. *The battle of Thymbra, between CYRUS and CROESUS.*

THIS battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided the empire of Asia, between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. * It was this consideration, that induced Mr. Freret, one of my brethren in the academy of polite literature, to examine it with a particular care and exactness; and the rather, as he observes, because it is the first pitched battle of which we hear any full or particular account. I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, as also without denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle, than I usually do of such matters, because Cyrus being looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action: Moreover the manner in which the ancients made war and fought battles is an essential part of their history.

(i) In Cyrus's army the companies of foot consisted of an hundred men each, exclusively of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four parts or platoons, which consisted of four and twenty men each, not including the person that commanded the escouade. Each of these subdivisions was again divided into two files, consisting in consequence of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, which sufficiently answers to what we call a colonel; and ten of those bodies again had another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

(k) I have already observed, that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the thirty thousand Persians to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the

(i) Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.

(k) Ibid. l. ii. p. 39, 40.

* Vol. VI. of the memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them till then only made use of javelins, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers and swords, or battle-axes; and left few of his soldiers in light armour.

(l) The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback. Cyrus, who was convinced, that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle, as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by little and little formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers; which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to an hundred and ninety-six thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand natural born Persians, *viz.* ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pike-men, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of an hundred and twenty-six thousand men, consisted of twenty-six thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and an hundred thousand foot of the same nations.

(m) Besides these troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses a-breast, covered with trappings that were shot-proof;

(l) Cyclop. l. iv. p. 99, 100. and l. v. p. 138. (m) Ibid. l. vi. p. 154, 153, 157.

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shot-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

(*n*) He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a large size, upon each of which was placed a tower of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked in a breast.

(*o*) There was moreover a considerable number of camels, upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

(*p*) Croesus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, of which sixty thousand were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of an hundred and twenty thousand. They had bucklers, that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cicilians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

(*q*) Croesus's army in order of battle was all ranged in one line, the infantry in the center, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were an hundred and twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of Croesus's infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or of square battalions, of ten thousand men each, which had an hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or space between every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with one another. Croesus would gladly have persuaded them to range them-

(*n*) Cyrop. l. vi. Pag. 156 (*o*) Pag. 153, 158. (*p*) Pag. 150.

(*q*) P. 166.

selves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left: And the design of Croesus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle, to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty stadias, or five miles in length.

Araspes, who under the pretence of discontent had retired to Croesus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus, to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

(r) The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth, but Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his Phalanx, to prevent his army's being enclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partizans, battle-axes, and swords; and provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe the Lydian phalanx, that were only armed with light bucklers and javelins. could support the charge. Cyrus therefore thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chryfantes, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadias, or four miles in extent; and consequently was at each end near four stadias, or half a mile short of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spear-men, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by the soldiers in their front.

front, over whose heads they could fling their javelins, and shoot their arrows, at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as traitors that run away; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers, which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

(1) To close all these lines, and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy's, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line, by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of an hundred each. One of these bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of * Susiana was placed in the front

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of

(1) Cyrop. l. vi. p. 168;

* Or Susiana.

of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

(t) The next day, very early in the morning, Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was fight more beautiful and magnificent: Coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire most: Men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

(u) When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass, which was only of quilted flax, according to the fashion of his country, his wife Panthea came and presented him with an helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that the present might be more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she shed some tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations (says she) to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was set apart for his pleasure; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife; and in return I assure him, you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness."—"O Jupiter! (cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven) grant that on this occasion I may approve myself an husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy

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"of so generous a benefactor." Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kiss the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes, as far as she possibly could, she retired.

(x) As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice, giving his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his post. (y) Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals: He eat a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those who were about him. He took a little wine likewise; and poured out a part of it, as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide: and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was considering on which side he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out * "Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee." And that instant he set forwards, having Chrysantes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to take care of the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle at the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out; the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his army halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having marched about twenty stadias, or two m^{iles}. and-a-half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemies had seen how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the center of their army halt, whilst the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to inclose Cyrus's army.

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and

(x) Cyrop. l. vii. Pag. 170.

(y) p. 172.

* He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, *Jupiter leader and protector*, he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

(2) He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers; and he, who on all other occasions was so modest and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory: "Follow me, comrades, (says he;) the victory is certainly ours; the gods are for us." He observed, that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the motion, which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "Those troops alarm you (says he;) believe me those are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time, when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots." In the event the thing just happened as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where he returned to the right wing of his army.

(a) When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended, Crœsus gave the signal to the main body of his army, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, whilst the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side; so that Cyrus's army was inclosed on three sides, as if it had had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse,

horse, briskly followed by a body of the foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces, that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank: And having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment the troops of the left flank, knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as ever they were sensible of the approach of those animals (for horses cannot endure the smell of camels) began to snort and prance, to run foul upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this confusion, a small body of horse commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed, with a dreadful slaughter.

(b) This being the signal, which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightening upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order, that the chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the violence of the horses, that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an

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extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forwards in close order, and covered with their bucklers obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them, beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met with a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the rolling towers; and the batalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spear-men from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

(c) Cyrus in the mean time having put both the horse and foot to flight, on the left of the Egyptians, did not amuse himself in pursuing the run-aways. But, pushing on directly to the center, had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and rightly judging, that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining further ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear: The cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, run headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, if they would surrender, letting them know, at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no less eminent in point of fidelity than in courage, they stipulated, that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Cræsus, in

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in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

(d) Xenophon observes, that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Cyllene, near Cumæ, upon the sea-coast, as also other in-land places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon's, as also many other in several parts of his Cyropædia, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shews plainly, that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection, Monsieur Freret makes upon this passage.

(e) The battle lasted till evening. Cræsus retreated as fast as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations in like manner that very night directed their course each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

In describing this battle I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some persons of the sword, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus disposed of his troops in order of battle: as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops, which Cræsus had detached, to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. It is possible such a circumstance might escape Xenophon in describing this battle.

(f) It is allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which till his time they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes

did good service, and the use of them was ever afterwards retained among the Persians. The camels too were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them, and observes, that in his time they made no other use of them, than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyrick upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice, that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour: In the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders, as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall see by-and-by what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity, which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surpris'd to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military person himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame then and reproach would it be to a christian officer or general, if on a day of battle he should blush to appear as religious

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and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than a respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus?

As for Cræsus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence, which Xenophon observes in regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

(g) But let us return to the camp of the Persians. It is easy to imagine, that Panthea must be in the utmost affliction and distress, when the news was brought to her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes stedfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her misery with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shewn to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

SECT. VI. *The taking of SARDIS, and of CROESUS.*

(h) **T**HE next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis. If we may believe Herodotus, Cræsus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his

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forces,

(g) Cyrop. l. vii. p. 184—186.

(h) L. I. c. 79—84.

forces, to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; (i) which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves in several places. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Croesus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

(k) When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city, he had a particular conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what

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(i) Cyrop. l. vii. p. 180.

(k) Cyrop. l. vii. p. 181—184.

he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom, it was said, he had always had a great regard. Croesus still acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shewn a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him; for that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead an happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness, when he once came to the knowledge of himself. "For want of this knowledge (continued he) and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince, infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me (for my fate is in your hands) I shall certainly be so." Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him (as Croesus acknowledged himself) from all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead an happy life, exempt from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances,

cumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

(l) I have already observed, that the only son Cræsus had living was dumb. This young prince, seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scymitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the strings of his tongue, and cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of Cræsus.*

(m) Cræsus, being a prisoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly the funeral pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince, being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting the * conversation he had formerly had with Solon, was woefully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof cried out aloud three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon!* Cyrus, who with the chief officers of his court was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Cræsus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect. † Thus had Solon the glory with one single word to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphick oracle, had induced Cræsus to engage in the war, which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he, Cræsus, was to believe himself in danger, when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them: The other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the

(l) Her. 1. i. c. 85.

(m) Ibid. c. 86.—91. Plut. in Solon.

* This conversation is already related, p. 105, 106.

† Καὶ δέξαν ἴσχευ' ὁ Σόλων ἐν λόγῳ

τὸν μὲν σάσας, τὸν δὲ παίδευσε τῷ βασιλείῳ. Plut.

the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he dispatched messengers to Delphos, in order to make a present to the god in his name of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding all the vast presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Croesus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind, in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

(n) When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprised of Cyrus's having subdued the Lydians, they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis, to desire he would receive them as his subjects, upon the same conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who before his victory had solicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable of a fisherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them, but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of succeeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their succour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know, that

that they would not suffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and advertised them in his turn to take care, and put themselves into a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, nor had the Persians any shipping.

ARTICLE II.

The history of the besieging and taking of Babylon by CYRUS.

(o) **C**YRUS staid in Asia Minor, till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into subjection, from the Ægean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subjected. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the east that stood out against him.

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, or assault, he made them believe his design was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour.

SECT. I.

(o) Her. l. i. c. 177. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186—188.

SECT. I. *Predictions of the principal circumstances relating to the siege and taking of Babylon, as they are set down in different places of the holy scriptures.*

AS the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances, with which it was attended, were foretold in the holy scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the prophane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

I. The prediction of the Jewish captivity at Babylon, and the time of its duration.

God almighty was pleased not only to cause the captivity, which his people were to suffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. *And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years, Jer. XXV. II.*

II. The causes of God's wrath against Babylon.

That which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. Her insupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. Her pride. * She believed herself to be invincible. She says in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to

* Dixisti, In sempiternum ero domina—Dicis in corde tuo, Ego sum, & non est præter me amplius: non

sedebo vidua, & ignorabo sterilitatem *Isa. xlvii. 7, 8.*

to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness, or widowhood. Eternity is writ in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it,

2. *Her cruelty.* It is God himself that complains of it. * I was willing (says he) to punish my people in such a manner, as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recall them, as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince have converted my paternal chastisement into such a cruel and inhuman treatment, as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy; mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shewn no compassion or regard either to age, infirmity, or virtue.

3. *The sacrilegious impiety of her king.* To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors, Baltazar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but imagined himself likewise to have vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply those holy vessels to profane uses. This was the provoking circumstance, that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

III. *The decree pronounced against Babylon. Prediction of the calamities that were to fall upon her, and of her utter destruction.*

(p) *Make bright the arrows, gather the shields;* it is the prophet that speaks to the Medes and Persians. *The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.*

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(p) Jer. li. 11.

* Iratus sum super populum meum, & dedi eos in manu tua, Babylon. Non posuisti eis misericordiam: super senem aggravasti jugum tuum valde. Veniet super te malum, Isa. xlvii, 6. 7.

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(2) Isa.

(3) Isa. x

(4) Ibid.

(q) Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land desolate. (r) Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of * Assyria.

(s) Shoot against her round about. Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her; and spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host. (t) Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children. (u) O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be, that taketh thy children, and dasheth them against the stones.

(x) And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces. (y) I will also make it a possession for the bittern and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed so shall it stand.

IV. Cyrus

- (q) Isa. xiii. 6, 9. (r) Jer. l. 18. (s) Jer. l. 15, 29. and li. 3.
 (t) Isa. xiii. 15, 18. (u) Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9. (x) Isa. xiii. 19, 22.
 (y) Ibid. xiv. 23, 24.

* In the destruction of Nineveh.

IV. CYRUS *called to destroy Babylon, and to deliver the Jews.*

Cyrus, whom the divine providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing of his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surpris'd at the prodigious rapidity of his conquests, God was pleas'd to declare, in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. (z) *Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel: For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.*

V. *God gives the signal to the commanders, and to the troops, to march against Babylon.*

(a) *Lift ye up a banner, saith the Lord, upon the high mountain, that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. Exalt the voice unto them that are able to hear you. Shake the hand, and make a sign, to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops go into the gates of the nobles, into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and*

(z) Isa. xlv. 1—4.

(a) Ibid. xiii. 2.

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make haste to offer him their service, and to go unto his tent, which is already set up.

(b) *I have commanded my sanctified ones*; I have given my orders to those whom I have sanctified for the execution of my designs; and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made several nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their ministrations. *I have called my mighty ones* (c) *for mine anger*. I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: Every thing gives way, and trembles before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, *they rejoice in my highness*. The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: Behold, they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the swiftness, with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, (d) *The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together. The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle*: (e) *They come from a far country, from the end of heaven*, where the voice of God, their master and sovereign, has reached their ears.

But it is not with the sight of a formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck; it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his revenue, and the ministers of his justice. *It is even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land.*

A grievous

(b) Isa. xiii. 3. (c) Lat. vers. *in ira mea*. Heb. *in iram meam*.

(d) Isa. xii. 4. (e) Ibid. xiii. 5.

(f) *A grievous vision is declared unto me: The *impious Baltazar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiously; the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth.* To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia; go up, O Elam: And thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: *Besiege, O Media; all the sighing, which she was the cause of, have I made to cease.* That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. Particular circumstances set down, relating to the siege and the taking of Babylon.

There is nothing, methinks, that can be more proper to raise a profound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen, that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that she did not at all expect: (g) *Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth.* She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she did not foresee: (h) *Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know.* In a word, she shall be taken, as it were, in a net, or a gin, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: (i) *I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware.*

3. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated and defended by so deep a river: (k) *O thou that dwellest upon many waters: It is*

God

(f) Isa. xxi. 2.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Jer. l. 2. 4.

(k) l. i. 13.

* This is the sense of the Hebrew word.

(l) Jer. l. 1. 13.

(o)

God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem (of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since) shall divert the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: *(l) I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up.* Cyrus shall take possession of the keys of the river; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire: *(m) The passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire.*

4. She shall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: *(n) In her heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake saith the Lord.* It is remarkable, that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon; *(o) I have laid a snare for thee; who drieth up the waters of the river; I will dry up her sea; and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes; (p) I will make drunk her princes.*

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: *(q) My joints are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold on me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it: My heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: The night of my pleasure hath be turned into fear unto me.* This is the condition Baltazar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it, as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him, that those characters imported the sentence of his death.

that

(l) Jer. 1. 38. and li. 36.

(o) Ut supra.

(m) Ibid. li. 32

(p) Jer. li. 57.

(n) Ibid 1. 39.

(q) Isa. xxi. 3, 4.

(r) *Then, says the scripture, the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.* The terròr, astonishment, fainting and trembling of Baltazar are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of Baltazar's consternation, the following words: (s) *Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.* The prophet foresees, that Baltazar, though terribly dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his spirit and courage again, through the exhortations of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms: (t) *Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed.* They exhorted him therefore to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the centinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recal that gaiety and joy which his excessive fears had banished from the table; *Prepare the table; watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink.*

6. But at the same time that men are giving these orders, God on his part is likewise giving his: (u) *Arise ye princes, and anoint the shield.* It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine and buried in sleep.

Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first

(r) Dan. v. 6.

(s) Isa. xxi. 5.
(u) Isa. xxi. v. 4.

(t) Dan. v. 10.

first is, that the troops with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or stand, firm any where, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other publick place whatsoever; that they shall desert and leave one another without thinking of any thing but making their escape; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered, when they are affrighted: (x) *And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh up.* The second circumstance is that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces, from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors; because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: (y) *They shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land.*

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter, which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shewn either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the last circumstance, I say, the prophet foretels, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in scripture, after a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. (z) *But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people.* That king is justly forgot, who has never remembered that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have

(x) Isa. xiii. 14

(y) Ibid.

(z) Isa. xiv. 19, 20.

no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: And since he had no sentiments of humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence, which God himself pronounced against Baltazar: And the malediction extends itself to his children who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleasing prospects and ideas of their future grandeur. - (a) *Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord.*

SECT. II. *A description of the taking of BABYLON.*

AFTER having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the completion and accomplishment of those prophecies; and in order thereto we must assume the thread of our history, with respect to the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed, that in the city, on such a day, a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

(b) Baltazar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment

(a) *Isaiah xiv. 21. 22.*

(b) *Dan. v. 1.—29.*

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tainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, in the very action made him sensible, who it was that he affronted, by a sudden apparition of a hand writing certain characters upon a wall. The king, terribly surprised and frightened at this vision, immediately sent for all his wise men, his diviners, and astologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the * characters. It is probably in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon, that she should be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, *Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astologers, the star-gazers the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee.* Isa. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother (Nitocris, a princess of great merit) coming upon the noise of this prodigy into the banquetting-room, endeavoured to compose the spirit of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner, in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the † crying abuse he made of his power,

P 2

God

* The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.

† Whom he would he shew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down
Dan v. 19.

when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself master to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. "And thou his son" (says he to the king) "hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knowest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of Heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drank wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: And the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, * MENE, TEKEL, (c) UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." This interpretation, one would think, should have enhanced the king's trouble; but some way or other they found means to dispel his fears, and make him easy; probably upon a persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time, and sat down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their revelling to a very late hour.

(d) Cyrus in the mean time, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and

(c) Or PERES.

(d) Cyrop. l. vii. p. 189—192.

* These three words signify number, weight, division.

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another part on that side where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them, that he marched under the conduct of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides of the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obstacle. The invisible guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night serve to the leaving open of the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the keys to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprize. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surpris'd the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them, sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him; and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at last punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very remarkable, as they so perfectly agree with what the scriptures have recorded of the impious Baltazar.

(e) The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian

P 3

(e) A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538.

lonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of Nebuchodonosor's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished, just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions, which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important, and the most incredible of them all, and yet the scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness: A prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or footsteps should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

SECT. III. *The completion of the prophecy which foretold the total ruin and destruction of BABYLON.*

THIS prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the xiiith chapter, from the 19th to the 22^d verses, and in the 23^d and 24th verses of the xvth chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 308, &c. It is there declared, that Babylon should be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that neither herdsman, or shepherd, shall come thither even to rest his herd or his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for the wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, or a fen, so that no mark or
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footstep shall be left to see where Babylon had been. It is God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion, to shew how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

I. In the first place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Shusan, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place; and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

II (f) We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embellishments, or even reparations in it, but that moreover they built * Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold; *It shall not be inhabited*. Its own masters endeavour to depopulate it.

III. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building † Ctesiphon, which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that from the time the anathema was pronounced against the city, it seems as if those very persons, that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; as if they all had thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, by indirect means though, and without using any violence; that it might the more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

(g) IV. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition

P 4

(f) A. M. 3880.

* Partem urbis Persiæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit, & Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, stadiis tantum trecentis a Babylone distitam, *Strab. l. xvi. p. 38.*

(g) A. C. 96.

In solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatori intra nonagesimum (or quadragessim) lapidem. *Plin. l. vi. c. 26.*

† Pro illa Seleuciam & Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inclitas fecerunt. *Hieron. in cap. xiii. Isa.*

tion was she reduced at the time when * Pausanias wrote his remarks upon Greece. *Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam prater muros nihil habit reliqui.* Paus. in Arcad. p, 509.

V. The kings of Persia finding the place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals that flee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly, creatures that hate the light, and delight in darkness. ^(b) *Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces.*

(i) St. Jerom has transmitted to us the following valuable remark, which he had from a Persian monk, that had himself seen what he related to him. *Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, & omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.* In cap. Isa. xiii. 22.

VI. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals which served for pleasure, to the Persian kings, abandoned the place: Serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way, so that in † Theodoret's time there was but a very little stream of water left, which run across the ruins, and not meeting with a descent or free passage, necessarily degenerated into a marsh.

In

(b) Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

* He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian.

† Euphrates quondam urbem ipsam mediam dividebat: nunc autem

(i) A. C. 400.

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(i) In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; these out-lets, being ill-stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would destroy even to the very remains and footsteps of Babylon, (k) [*I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant*] defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold: (l) *I will make it pools of water*. And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood, should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

VII. By means of all these changes Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able *geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood. In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled; (m) *I will make it a possession for the bitter, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts*. I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every footstep of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have abolished. *I will sweep it with the besom of destruction saith the Lord of hosts*.

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VIII. God

(i) Arrian de exped. Alex. l. viii. (k) Isa. xiv. 22. (l) Ibid. 23. (m) Ibid.

* Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint rudera, Baudran.

VIII. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. (n) *The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.* But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the good and the wicked. The scriptures, that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the publick archives of religion. *The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, As I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand.*

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almost entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still in manuscript.

SECT IV. *What followed upon the taking of Babylon.*

(o) **CYRUS** entered the city after the manner we have described, put all to the sword that were found in the streets; then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison, which kept the citadel, being apprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then having assembled his

(n) Isa. xiv. 24.

(o) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 192.

his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. (p) After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overthrown by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and as a means thereto, take a particular care to give their children education. This (says he) will necessarily engage us daily to make further advancements in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples: Nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us, but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

(q) Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications: But the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependance upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of the one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person

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had

(p) Cyrop. l. vii. p. 175—220.

(q) Ibid. 202.

had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not stand idle in the midst of all this motion, but was as it were the soul to the body of the state; which by this means he governed with as much ease, as a father governs his private family.

(r) When he afterwards sent governors, called *Satrapæ*, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, or the commanding officers of the troops, kept on foot for the security of the country, to depend upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but him; that if any of the *Satrapæ*, elate with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, that all others are thereby abased and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. (s) In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all such as distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He infinitely preferred clemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful. (t) He was sensible, that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners, but, in his opinion, the prince by his example was to be a living law to his people: (u) Nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed: (x) He was

(r) Cyrop. Lib. viii. p. 229.
(u) Pag. 205.

(x) Pag. 204.

(s) Ibid. p. 209.

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was also persuaded, that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or to say any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

(y) Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal, nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others.

(z) "I have prodigious riches (says he to his courtiers) I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, if I desired it. No: The chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to reward those who serve the publick faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities."

(a) Croesus one day represented to him, that by continual giving he would at last make himself poor, whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and been the richest prince in the world. "And to what sum (replied Cyrus) do you think those treasures might have amounted?" Croesus named a certain sum which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a little note to be writ to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them, that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him, than Croesus had mentioned. "Look here (says Cyrus to him) here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affections of my subjects."

But as much as he esteemed liberality, he still laid a greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary,

as

(y) Cyrop. 1. viii. p. 209.

(z) Pag. 225.

(a) Pag. 210.

as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

(b) But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this therefore he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of Magi, to sing daily a morning service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised amongst them in succeeding ages.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed, that by serving the gods, as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: Besides they were sensible, it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus on the other hand was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments of religion, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

(c) Cyrus being resolved to settle his chief residence at Babylon, a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined therefore to suffer no body to be near him at those times, but such persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had

neither

neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth, and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by all sorts of reasons to an entire attachment to their master, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they were of any consideration. Cyrus therefore filled all the offices of his household with eunuchs; and as this had been the practice before his time, from thenceforth it became the general custom of all the eastern countries.

It is well known, that in after-times this usage prevailed also amongst the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to entrust them also with the management of their affairs, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burthen to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy having got possession of their masters minds and confidence, they came to be in great credit at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive themselves at the highest offices and dignities in the state.

(d) But the good emperors, such as Alexander Severus, had the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures fold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the publick good; persons, whose whole view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to keep all persons of merit from him, to conceal affairs as much as possible from his knowledge, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascendant and dominion over him: *Claudentes principem suum, & agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

(e) When

(d) Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever.

(e) When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he resolved to shew himself publicly to his people, and to his new conquered subjects, in a solemn august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring respect to himself, not only by the attractions of virtue (says the historian) but by such an external pomp, as was proper to attract the multitude, and worked like a * charm or enchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a suit of clothes after the Median fashion, that is to say, long garments, which hung down to the feet. These clothes were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of the Medes, (f) and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it ranged in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: These were

(e) *Cyrus*. l. viii. p. 213, 220.

(f) *Pag.* 206.

* Ἄλλα δὲ καταγοντεῖεν αἶετο χεῖναι αὐτοῖς.

to be sacrificed to Jupiter and other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next followed the horses, that were to be sacrificed to the sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: This was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the Sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men, who carried the sacred fire in a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunick was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat his master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the stature of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march: The other two thousand moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's household, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed two hundred led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered

broidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four in a breast, marched in the rear, and closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the first were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the second horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the Earth, according to the appointment of the magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of * Syria.

In order to recreate the people after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about the quantity of five † stadia, and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately, and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for no body was so complete an horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards amongst the Persians, except only, that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

(g) Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all his chief officers, as well strangers as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present; so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude: And all-powerful as he was, master of all the east, and so many kingdoms, he did not think

* Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Assyria.

(g) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 220—224. † A little above half a mil.

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think it descending from his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

ARTICLE III.

The history of CYRUS, from the taking of Babylon to the time of his death.

CYRUS finding himself master of all the east, by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a continual application to the duties of his high station.

SECT. I. CYRUS takes a journey into Persia: At his return from thence to Babylon, he forms a plan of government for the whole empire. Daniel's credit and power.

(b) WHEN Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him at the same time that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in copartnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that

(b) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 227.

that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. *(i)* This is the Cyaxares, which is called in scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears, that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they were arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. *(k)* They divided it into an hundred and twenty provinces. *(l)* And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the expressees, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible dispatch. *(m)* The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most, and rendered him the greatest service in the war. *(n)* Over these governors were appointed three super-intendants, who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the super-intendency over, and the chief administration of the great affairs of the whole empire. Of these three Daniel was made the chief. He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the east, and had appeared in a distinguished manner at Baltazar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age, and consummate experience. For at that time it was full sixty seven years, from the fourth of Nebuchodonosor, that he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

(o) As this distinction had made him the second person in the empire, and placed him immediately under the

king,

(i) A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 588. *(k)* Dan. vi. 1. *(l)* Cyrop. 1. viii. p. 232. *(m)* Ibid. p. 230. *(n)* Dan. vi. 2, 3. *(o)* Dan. vi. 4—27.

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king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatsoever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god, or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

(p) Towards the end of the same year, which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel, knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he prayed earnestly to God, that he would remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel assured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to pass from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years: for taking each day for a year, according to the language sometimes used in holy scripture, those seventy weeks of years make up exactly four hundred and ninety years.

(q) Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general

(p) Dan. ix. 1—27.

(q) Cyrop. l. viii. 233 .

neral review made of them, he found they consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand horse, of two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with as many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries, as far as the Red-sea, and the confines of Æthiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just now related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineness and beauty were for several ages preferred to all other money throughout the whole east.

SECT. II. *The beginning of the united empire of the Persians and Medes. The famous edict of CYRUS. Daniel's prophecies.*

HERE, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468, to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the three first kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

(r) CYRUS. Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyfes likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire.

(s) The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: Others make the duration

(r) A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536.

(s) Cic. l. i. de Div. n. 46.

duration of it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time, when by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyfes, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, (t) whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this request, he shewed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah, wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be a conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and at the same time to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temples to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in this place to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endow'd him with so many heroick virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of victories and successes.

(u) *In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy, the Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of the Persians, The Lord of Israel, the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him a house at Jerusalem in Jewry. If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judea, and build the house of the Lord of Israel; for he is the Lord, that dwelleth*

(t) Isa. xlv. & xlv.

(u) 1 Esdras. ii. 1—7.

dwelleth in Jerusalem. Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those, I say, that are his neighbours) with gold and with silver; with gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and with other things, which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem.

Cyrus restored at the same time to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nabuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zerobabel, to return into their own country.

(x) The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes and under-hand dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

(y) It seems to have been out of grief to see the execution of this decree so long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

* By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture that he died soon after; and indeed his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon.

(x) 1 Esdras iv. 1—5.

(y) Dan. x. 1—3.

* But go thou thy way till the end thy lot at the end of the days. Dan. ix. 13.

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Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of something more than human wisdom, in the judgement of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much considered by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. (z) Josephus speaks of a famous edifice built by him at * Susa, in the manner of a castle (which he says still subsisted in his time) and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that † city, and there they shew his monument even to this day. It is certain, that he used to go thither from time to time; and he himself tell us, that (a) *he did the king's business there; that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.*

Reflexions upon Daniel's prophecies.

I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. (b) I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known the

VOL. II.

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(z) Antiq. l. x. cap. 12.

(a) Dan. viii. 27.

(b) Dan. iv.

* So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerom, who relates the same fact; and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

Com. in Dan. viii. 2.

† Now called Tustar.

thing happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction: The king himself relates it in a declaration, addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as a thing sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of so important a matter, and so injurious to the king, and of which the falsehood must have been notorious to all the world?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which signify the succession of four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject-matter of this work, which is only the history of those very empires.

(c) The first of these prophecies was occasioned by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had, of an image composed of different metals, gold, silver, brass and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beat as small as dust by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already (s) spoken of at large.

About fifty * years after, the same Daniel saw another vision, very like that which I have just been speaking of: this was the vision of the four large beasts, which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; the second was like a bear; the third was like a leopard, which had four heads; the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. From the midst of the ten horns, which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater

(c) Dan. 43, 44.

(d) Pag. 84.

* This was the first year of Balthazar, king of Babylon. Dan. vii.

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greater than the other: The same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the ancient of days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the son of man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that these two visions, the one of the image composed of different metals, the other of the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the * Romans. This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but he only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who by a supernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases †?

(e) In the following chapter this prophet still speaks with greater clearness and precision. For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner: The ram, which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat, which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great

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horn,

(r) Dan. chap. viii.

* Some interpreters, instead of the seasons; he removeth and setteth up Romans, put the kings of Syria and kings; he revealeth the deep and Egypt, Alexander's successors. secret things; and the light dwelleth

† He changeth the times and the with him, Dan. ii. 21, 22.

horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see, that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes by saying, *that he touched not the ground?* How did he learn, that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? * By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover, that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north.

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign †, foretel, that the fourth of Cyrus's successors should gather ‡ together all his forces, to attack the Grecian states? How could this prophet, who lived so long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions, which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the prophaneation of that holy place, by sitting up an idol therein; and the vengeance which God would inflict on

him

* *And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion: And his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled. Dan. xi. 3, 4. Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation,*

but not in his power. Dan. viii. 23.

† *Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings of Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia. Dan. xi. 2.*

‡ *Xerxes.*

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him for it? (f) How could he, in the first year of the Persian empire, foretel the wars, which Alexander's successors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerity in their treaties, and their marriage-alliances, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs?

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion, which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; for they are so clear and express, that Porphyry (g), a professed enemy of the christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them, but by pretending, that they were writ after the events, and rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between the empires of the world and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as their founders, or governors.

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find, that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been one of its true characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet in reality there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal

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(f) Dan. xi. 5-45.

(g) S. Hieron. in Proem. ad com. in Dan.

nal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The end of his reign is the salvation of mankind; it is to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who are all of them so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only, that the whole world doth subsist; and when the number of them shall be complete, (b) "Then (says St. Paul) cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power."

Can a writer, who sees in the prophecies of Daniel that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted the time determined for them by the sovereign disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and center in the empire of Jesus Christ? Can a writer, I say, amidst all these prophane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others.

SECT. III. *The last years of CYRUS. The death of that prince.*

(i) **L**ET us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine seas, on the west by the Egean sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring time, and two months at Ecbatana, during the heat of the summer.

Seven

(b) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

(i) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233, &c.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, which was the seventh time from his accession to the whole monarchy: And this shews, that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyfes had been now dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had passed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he * enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of his sober and temperate life. And as they, who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age, even whilst they are young, Cyrus on the contrary in a very advanced age enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and, after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son, Cambyfes, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the throne was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches; but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you therefore," said he, my dear children, in the name of the gods, "to respect and love one another, if you would retain any desire to please me for the future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You

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* Cyrus quidem apud Xenophonem eo sermone, quem muriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, ne-

gat se unquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecillio rem factam, quam adolescentia fuisset, Cic. de Senect. n. 30.

" never saw my soul to this instant : You must have known
 " however by its actions that it really existed. Do you
 " believe, that honours would still be paid to those whose
 " bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer
 " any being or power ? No, no, my sons, I could never
 " imagine, that the soul only lived whilst in a mortal
 " body, and died when separated from it. But if I mis-
 " take, and nothing of me shall remain after death, at
 " least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things,
 " and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that
 " fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to
 " do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next
 " to them fear mankind, and the ages to come. The
 " gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed
 " you upon this great theatre to the view of the whole
 " universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be
 " assured they will augment your glory and power. For my
 " body, my sons, when life has forsook it, inclose it neither
 " in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatsoever.
 " RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can
 " it be more happy than in being blended, and in a man-
 " ner incorporated with the benefactress, and common
 " mother of human kind ?" After having given his hand
 to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at
 the point of death, he added these last words : " Adieu,
 " dear children ; may your lives be happy ; carry my
 " last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my
 " faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this
 " last farewell, and may you live in peace." After
 having said this, he covered his face, and died equally
 lamented by all his people.

(a) The order given by Cyrus to RESTORE HIS BODY
 TO THE EARTH, is in my opinion very remarkable. He
 would have thought it disgraced and injured, if inclosed
 in gold or silver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, says
 he. Where did that prince learn, that it was from
 thence it derived its original ? Behold one of those preci-
 ous traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after
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having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

Character and praise of CYRUS.

Cyrus may justly be considered, as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince to be found in prophane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal steadiness and prudence for executing the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes, who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean things they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable and odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the most indifferent matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access: And whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection, and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantage may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a command tempered with reason, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good-will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendor and affluence, with which they are surrounded. * Cyrus was beloved, because he himself had a love for others: For has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing affects us more, than to see in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity, as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. (l) His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command to tell him whatever they thought. And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing, without asking their advice: And whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterprize, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own: So different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus, (m) who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the

(l) Plut. l. iii. de Leg. p. 694.

(m) Hist. l. i. c. 26.

* Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es. *Paneg. Trajan.*

the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: *Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non afferret, inimicus.*

(n) Cicero observes, that during the whole time of Cyrus's government he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: *Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.* What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have been a very great master of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure, that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his steadfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; (o) and that it was not by the splendor of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and secure the publick welfare and tranquillity. He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to consider himself as a * shepherd; (the image under which both sacred and prophane antiquity represented good kings) and that he ought to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. "It is his duty (says he) to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to charge himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to chuse whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in

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(n) Lib. i. Epist. 2. ad Q. fratrem.

(o) Cyrop. I. i. p. 27.

* *Thou shalt feed my people,* said *לאֲכֹל*, Homer, in many places, God to David, 2 Sam. v. 2. *Ποιμαίνε*

“ seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. “ This (says he) is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable at the same time, “ that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that “ he should labour to make them happy; because it is “ for that very end that he is their king, as much as it “ is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his “ flock.”

Indeed, to be the commonwealth’s guardian, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is not to be for themselves; the very character of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the publick good. They may properly be considered as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these any disparagement to the dignity of the regal state?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus founded such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for several years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not for our parts to be surprized, that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue (it will easily be understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues) because we know it was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, or that he immediately made him such, as we admire him

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in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all he took care, that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great designs, for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding him, in some sort, with the rest of the subjects, and the keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride, which is so natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and in a word rendered him such, as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this truth; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation, that all good kings are the gift of God, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view, than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portraiture which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance with that of Cyrus. (p) *Nullum est præstabilius & pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam castus, & sanctus & Deo simillimus princeps.*

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, methinks there seems to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory,

(p) Paneg. Traj.

glory, which would have enchanced it exceedingly, I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden turn of fortune. I know indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter: (q) *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti; secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos.* And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear up the burden; whereas prosperity attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle: *Quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; as a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views, and provides against every thing; and lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to itself; but is capable of supporting others.

(r) Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us, that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us at the same time with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper, so conspicuous in him,

(q) Hist. lib. i. c. 15.

(r) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 234.

him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired ; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen : And this prudent fear was not only a (s) preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examined, with regard to this prince's reputation and character ; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests, upon which I shall touch but lightly. If these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked among those famous robbers of the universe, those publick enemies to mankind *, who acknowledge no right but that of force ; who looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings ; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them any further ; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition ; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like fires and torrents ; and † who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were masters.

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes the world admires ; and by such ideas as these, we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many deceived by false images of greatness.

I do not know, whether I am not biassed in favour of Cyrus ; but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which

(s) Οὐκ εἶα μέγα φρονίῳ, ἢ δ' εὐφραίνεσθαι διατεταμένῳ.

* Id in summa fortuna æquius lib. xv. cap. 1.

† Quæ alia vita esset, si leones
quod validius. Et sua retinere pri-
vate domus : de alienis certare re-
ursique regnarent? Sen. de clem.
siam laudem esse. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 26.

which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertaking; but he certainly revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, which whoever undertakes without a just foundation, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

(*t*) Cyrus, as we have seen, at the beginning of the war founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Croesus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of the lesser Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.

With good reason therefore is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which it could not be, unless justice had been the basis and foundation of it: * *Cyrus a Xenophonte scriptus ad justæ effigiem imperii.*

SECT. IV. *Wherein HERODOTUS and XENOPHON differ in their accounts of CYRUS.*

HERODOTUS and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the substance and most essential part of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against

(*t*) Cyrop. l. i. p. 25.

* Cic. l. i. Epist. 1. ad Q. fratrem.

(*u*) Her. 2. 205-211

against Babylon, and his other conquests; yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

(u) He tells us, as Justin does after him, that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son, who was to be born of his daughter, would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandana to a Persian of an obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyfes: This daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the same by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and entertained with the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

(x) The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle feigned a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drank largely and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was

(u) Her. 1. i. c. 107—130. Justin. 1. i. c. 4, 6.
205—214. Justin. 1. i. c. 8.

(x) Ibid. 1. i.

was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words, * *Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable.*

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy, and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance, than of an history. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there, that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid by a woman for him? (y) What the same historian relates concerning his hasty violent passion, and his childish revenge upon the river † in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, who was a prince of extraordinary moderation and temper. Besides, (z) is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardor of his troops in such an unprofitable piece of work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between him and the

(y) Her. l. i. c. 189.

* *Satia te, inquit, sanguine, quem fuisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper*

(z) Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 21.

fuisti. Justin. l. i. c. 8.

† *Cyndes.*

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the Holy Scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes. (as Herodotus relates it) those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence then could so great a difference, as there is between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place, where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and of less credulity; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

CHAP. II.

The HISTORY of CAMBYSES.

(a) **A**S soon as Cambyfes was seated in the throne, he resolved to make war against Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis: Of this I have already given an account. But it is more probable, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

(b) Cambyfes, in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furnished him with ships. As for his land-army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up

(a) A. M. 34, 75. Ant. J. C. 529. Herod. l. iii. c. 1—3. (b) Ibid. c. 4—9.

up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnassus, who being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks, in the service of Amasis, and being some way or other dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyfes, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories lay between the confines of Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march through the desert, that lay between those two countries: Which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyfes could never have marched his army that way.

(c) Having made all these preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. When he was arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammenitus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyfes could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on the side he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all likelihood it must have stopped him a great while. But according to Polyenus, to facilitate this enterprise, (d) Cambyfes invented the following stratagem. Being informed, that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison not daring either to sling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of those animals, Cambyfes became master of the place without opposition.

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(c) Herod. l. iii. c. 10.

(d) Polyen. l. vii.

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(e) When Cambyfes had got poffeffion of the city Plammenitus advanced with a great army to ftop his progrefs; and a confiderable battle enfued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks, who were in Plammenitus's army, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, cut their throats between the two camps, and in prefence of the two armies, drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Perfians, enraged at fo horrid a fpectacle, fell upon them with great fury, quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greateft part were killed upon the fpot. Thofe that could fave themfelves efaped to Memphis.

(f) On the occafion of this battle Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumftance, of which he himfelf was a witnefs. The bones of the Perfians and Egyptians were ftill in the place where the battle was fought, but feparated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were fo hard, that a violent ftroke of a ftone would hardly break them; and thofe of the Perfians fo foft, that you might break them, or pierce them through, with the greateft eafe imaginable. The reafon of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accuftomed to have their heads fhaved, and to go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiara's, which is one of their principal ornaments.

(g) Cambyfes, having purfued the run-aways to Memphis, fent an herald into the city, in a vefel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis flood, to fummmon the inhabitants to furrender. But the people, tranfported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with him. Cambyfes, having foon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, caufing ten times as many Egyptians, of the prime nobility, as there had been of his people maffacred,

to

(e) Herod. l. iii. c. 11.

(f) Cap. 12.

(g) Cap. 13.

to be publicly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself, Cambyfes was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, did what he could to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months; after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success the Lybians, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyfes, to make him their submissions.

(b) From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of its tomb; and, after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage this prince testified against the dead carcase of Amasis, shows to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives Cambyfes had of carrying his arms into Egypt.

(i) The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved to make war in three different countries; against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phœnicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to succour him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

(k) But, being determined to invade the other two nations, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who under that character were to act as spies for him, to learn the

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(b) Herod. lib. iii. c. 16.

(i) Cap. 17, 19.

(k) Cap. 20-24.

state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. These presents, amongst which there was nothing useful, or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, spies and enemies in disguise. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing after his way, to make a present to the king of Persia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarce lift it, he drew it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: "This is the present and the counsel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this bigness and strength, with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let him come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops than Cambyfes is master of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put it into the hearts of the Ethiopians to extend their dominions beyond their own country."

(l) This answer having enraged Cambyfes, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions, nor any thing necessary for such an expedition: But he left the Grecians behind him, in his new-conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

(m) As soon as he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he detached fifty thousand of his men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was famous there. But, after they had made several days march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed, and buried under it.

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(l) Herod. l. iii. c. 25.

(m) Cap. 25, 26.

In the mean time, Cambyfes marched forwards like a madman towards the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts of provisions; which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil: But Cambyfes would have thought it a dishonour to have desisted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees: But, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burthen. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as meat for his companions; a meat, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself; (n) *Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame savius*. Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were still reserved to carry his kitchen-furniture, and the instruments of his luxury: (o) *Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, & instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis malè periret, quis pejùs viveret*.

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes; (p) where he succeeded much better in the war declared against the gods, whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, that were incredibly rich and magnificent. All these Cambyfes pillaged, and then set them on fire. The richness of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains, saved from the flames, amounted to an immense sum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand

(n) De Ira, l. iii. c. 20.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 43.

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thousand three hundred talents of silver. (q) He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold, that encompassed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being three hundred and fifty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.

(r) From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes: But on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this to have been for the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these publick rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death, as impostors that insulted him and his misfortunes. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer: Upon which he replied, that since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But, when instead of a god he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beast; and then upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, ordered them to be severely whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.

(s) The Egyptians say, that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyfes grew mad. But his actions showed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: Among the rest, are the following:

(t) He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus, besides himself, and born of the same mother: His name, ac-

(q) Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 46. (r) Her. l. iii. c. 27—29. (s) Cap. 30

(t) Ibid.

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cording

cording to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin Mergis. He accompanied Cambyfes in his Egyptian expedition. But being the only person among all the Persians, that could draw the bow, which Cambyfes's ambassadors brought him from the King of Ethiopia, Cambyfes from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after dreaming, that somebody told him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the throne, and sent after him into Persia, Prexaspes, one of his chief confidents, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed.

(u) This murder was the cause of another still more criminal. Cambyfes had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a strange manner this sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyfes absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them, whether there was any law, that would allow a brother to marry a sister. The judges, being unwilling on one hand directly to authorise such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a salvo, and gave him this crafty answer, That they had no law indeed which permitted a brother to marry his sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. Which serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being Meroe

he from her gave that name to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it; for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians. The thing that gave occasion to his murdering this princess was as follows. One day Cambyfes was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog: The lion having the better, another dog brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This adventure mightily delighted Cambyfes, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not had the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better end.

(x) He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and favourites, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. "They admire, Sir, (says Prexaspes) a great many excellent qualities they see in you but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine."—"I understand you" (replied the king) that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason. You shall be judge of that immediately," Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities, than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled at him; and declaring that he aimed at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and showing the father the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced,

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asked

(x) Her. 1. iii. c. 34, 35. Sen. 1. iii. de Ira, c. 12.

asked him, in an insulting scoffing manner, if he had not a steady hand? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply: "Apollo himself could not have shot better." Seneca, who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shown his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est quam missum.*

(y) When Cræsus took upon him to advise Cambyfes against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And, when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his commands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Cræsus was alive.

It was about this time, Oretes, one of Cambyfes's satrapæ, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased, if I repeat it here.

(z) This Polycrates was a prince, who through the whole course of his life had been perfectly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment, or unfortunate accident, to disturb his felicity. Amasis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. In this letter he declared to him, that he had terrible apprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected, that some malignant invidious god who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly sooner or later bring ruin and destruction upon him; that, in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some misfortune to himself by

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some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.

The tyrant followed his advice. Having an emerald ring which he mightily esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of an extraordinary bigness, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprize was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He writ another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that, to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange, whimsical notion this! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title, destitute of all substance and reality.

(a) Be that as it will, the thing however did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyfes fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another *satrapa* had made him in a private quarrel, of his not having yet conquered the isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious for his master; Oretes upon this resolved at any rate to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this. He feigned an inclination upon some pretended discontent to revolt from Cambyfes; but must first take care, he said how to secure his treasure and effects; for which end he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the same time make him a present of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a thing he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and

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passionately

(a) Her. l. iii. c. 120—125.

passionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. When he came there, they showed him a vast number of bags full of gold, as he thought, but in truth filled with stones, and having only the mouth of them covered over with gold. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends; and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival Oretes had him arrested, as an enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged: In such an ignominious and shameful mannner did he end a life, which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.

(b) Cambyfes, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Persia. When he came into Syria, he found an herald there, sent from Susa to the army, to let them know that Smerdis the son of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in this manner. Cambyfes, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisthes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisthes, had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reason was called by the same name. As soon as Patisthes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which was concealed from the publick, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyfes indulged his extravagance to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately despatched heralds into all the parts of the empire, to
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give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

(c) Cambyfes caused the herald that came with these orders into Syria, to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexâsper, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he, who had usurped the throne, was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But, as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians remarking that it was in the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, reckoned it as a judgement upon him for that sacrilegious impiety.

(d) While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus, which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana; which understanding of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. For the town, where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana. Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis, the Magian, who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians thinking that he said all this out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; but upon his death quietly submitted

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(c) Her. l. iii. c. 62—64.

(d) Cap. 64—66

to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

(e) Cambyfes reigned seven years and five months. In scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made their addresſes directly to him, deſiring him to hinder the building of their temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of ſome remains of reſpect for his father's memory, but in a great meaſure fruſtrated his intent, by the many diſcouragements he laid the Jews under; ſo that the work went on very ſlowly during his reign.

CH A P. III.

The HISTORY of SMERDIS, the Magian.

THIS prince is called in ſcripture Artaxerxes. As ſoon as he was ſettled in the throne, by the death of Cambyſes, (f) the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him, ſetting forth what a turbulent, ſeditious, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any further in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was ſuſpended till the ſecond year of Darius, for about the ſpace of two years.

The Magian, ſenſible how important it was for him that the impoſtor ſhould not be diſcovered, affected according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern monarchs in thoſe times, never to appear in publick, but to live retired in his palace, and there tranſact all his affairs by the intercourſe of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his moſt intimate confidants to his preſence.

(g) And the better to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the throne he had uſurped, he ſtudied from his firſt acceſſion to gain the affections of his ſubjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military ſervice for three years; and did ſo many things for their

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(e) 1 Eſd. iv. 4, 6.
(g) Her. i. iii. c. 67.

A. M. 3482, Ant J. C. 522

(f) Ibid. 7-14

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benefit, that his death was much lamented by the generality of the Persians on the revolution that happened afterwards.

(b) But these very precautions, he made use of to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people, did but make it the more suspected, that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Atossa a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king, was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered, that having never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then by a second message desired her to inquire of Atossa, (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or not. Whereupon she informed him that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy herself, that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus; but, if not, he was Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the tryal she was directed to, and finding that the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was discovered.

(i) Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility; and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father Hystaspes was

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governor

(b) Her. l. iii. c. 69.

(i) Cap. 70—73.

Governor of * Persia, coming very seasonably, as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered,

(k) While they were concerting their measures, an extraordinary occurrence, which they had not the least expectation of, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publicly declare before the people who were to be assembled for that purpose that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, by Cambyses's order; that that person who now possessed the throne was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed, by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine, what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

(l) The conspirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected. For the outer guard knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But coming near the king's apartment, and finding the officers there unwilling to give them admittance they drew their scymitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis the Magian and his brother who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed,

* The province so called.

(k) Cap. 76—78.

(m, H. r. l. iii. 74—75.

killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself was pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius was afraid to kill him, lest at the same time he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

(*m*) In the same instant, with their hands all smeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis, and his brother Patilithes to the eye of the people, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this the people grew so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon their whole sect, and slew as many of them as they could find. For which reason the day, on which this was done, thenceforward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The slaughter of the Magi*; nor durst any of that sect appear in publick upon that festival.

When the tumult and disorder, inseparable from such an event, were appeased, the lords, who had slain the usurper, entered into consultation among themselves what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniencies, to which that form of government was liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man is almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyfus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. "A king, said he, knows what he does: But the people neither know nor hear

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"any thing; and blindly give themselves up to those who know how to amuse them." He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, showed the inconveniencies of an aristocracy, otherwise called oligarchy; wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, all natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder; for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to one man's authority; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous; inexpressibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations. "In short, said he, to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undeniable, to what form of government is owing the present greatness of the Persian empire? Is it not to that which I am now recommending?" Darius's opinion was embraced by the rest of the lords; and they resolved, that the monarchy should be continued on the same footing whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

(n) The next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet the next morning, by sun-rising on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city; and he, whose horse first neighed, should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined that taking this course, would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the crown to his master. He carried the night before, a mare into the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, but he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He

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was the son of Hystaspes a Persian by birth and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

(2) The Persian empire being thus restored and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all publick affairs were the first to deliver their opinions. Whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, because, when they attacked the Magi they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forwards the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

CHAP. IV.

The manners and customs of the ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES, and PERSIANS.

I SHALL give in this place a joint account of the manners and customs of all these several nations, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make frequent repetitions; and that, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads.

- I. Their government.
- II. Their art of war.
- III. Their arts and sciences: And
- IV. Their religion.

After which I shall lay down the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE I.

Of GOVERNMENT.

AFTER a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these few things: Their publick council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of their provinces; and the good order observed in their revenues.

SECT. I. *Their monarchical form of government. The respect they paid their kings. The manner of educating their children.*

MONARCHICAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons the wisest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have thought fit to prefer this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form that was ever established among the eastern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

(p) Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, because in his person they respected the character of the deity, whose image and vice-gerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the supreme governor of the world, and clothed with his authority, and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people. In this manner did the Pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: (q) *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fungatur,*

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(p) Plut. in Themist. p. 125. ad Princ. indoc. p. 780.

(q) Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power; because it cometh from God and is entirely appointed for the good of the publick: Besides, it is evident, that an authority not respected according to the full extent of his commission, must thereby either become useless or at least very much limited in the good effects, which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism these honours and homages, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the christian being the only religion, that has known how to keep within bounds in that particular. * We honour the emperor, said Tertullian in the name of all the Christians; but in such a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone. For this reason he calls in another place the emperor a second majesty, inferior to nothing but the first: (r) *Religio secundæ majestatis*.

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be stiled, *The great king, the king of kings*. Two reasons might induce those princes to take that ostentatious title. The one, because their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head: The other because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court or dependent upon them.

(s) The crown was hereditary among them, descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of publick rejoicings; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual festival, and day of solemnity for all the Persians.

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(r) Apolog. c. i. p. 35.

* Colimus Imperatorem, sic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipsi excedit; ut hominem a Deo secun-

(s) Plat. in Alcib. c. i. p. 121.

dum, & quicquid est a Deo consecutum, & solo Deo minore, Tertul. L ad Scap.

(1) The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition: But from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince's person and health till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest, and most virtuous men of the state, were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magick, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasus; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify his courage against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures; that for a superiour strength of mind and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was proper to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible that four men should

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(1) Plat. in Alcib. c. i. p. 121.

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agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably, the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence, with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of attendants that paid him a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention; dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the reigning pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue, from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reason to believe that he was more careful than his predecessors in the point of educating his children; but was not much imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECT. II. *The public council, wherein the affairs of state are considered.*

AS absolute as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes or chief lords of the nation, no less distinguished for their wisdom

wisdom and abilities, than for their extraction. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis, the Magian, and killed him.

The scripture relates, that Ezra was sent into Judea, in the name, and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors: (u) *From before the king and his seven counsellors.* The same scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, that these counsellors were all well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance without their advice.

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place the king there spoken of, that is Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving, on account of his wisdom and prudence: though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of counsel; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding: By which proceeding, he really showed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and supposes a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents, and a narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is. He thinks it want of respect, to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted if you seem to doubt that he, who

(u) 1 Esd. vii. 14.

* Regi
Plin. Pan

is in supreme power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he instituted that council: for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to * govern by the laws; to make them the rule of his will and desire; and to think nothing allowable for him, which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king, was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men, and the best heads in the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of publick order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. Upon this council the king discharged himself of several weighty cares, which he must otherwise have been overburthened with; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserved; the knowledge of its true interest perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights, prevented. For in a publick and general council things are discussed by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in publick matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration; because though as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of

* Regimur a te, & subiecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus.
Plin. Paneg. Traj.

of business ; yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the publick, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom.

Two things, which as the scriptures inform us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. (x) The first was their having publick registers, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded. (y) The second was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly entered. These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past ; might have a true and clear idea of the state of the kingdom ; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct ; maintain an uniformity in the course of affairs ; and, in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

SECT. III. *The administration of justice.*

TO be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administering justice. *God hath made you king over his people* (said the queen of Sheba to Solomon) *to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgement unto them.* God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His design, in making them

(x) 1 Es. v, 17. and vi. 2.

(y) Ibid. iv. 15. and Esth. vi. 1.

them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for the restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any persons whatsoever.

But what is that justice which God hath put into the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depositaries? Why, it is nothing else but order; and order consists in observing an universal equity, and that force do not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common band of society be not broken; that artifice and fraud may not prevail over innocence and simplicity; that all things may rest in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakest among the people may find his sanctuary in the public authority.

(z) We learn from Josephus, that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary, that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others: But to be assisted is not to be deprived, or dispossessed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with

(z) Antiq. Judaic. l. xi. c. 3.

with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of speaking wisely upon important points. For this reason the kings of Persia never ascended the throne, till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science whereof they were the only masters and professors, as well as of theology.

Now since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice; and that within his dominions there is no other power of administering it, than what is delegated by him; how greatly does it behove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so great a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne are worthy to partake of such a prerogative; and industriously to keep all such at a distance from it as he judges unworthy? We find that in Persia, their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. (a) One of their royal judges (for so they called them) having suffered himself to be corrupted by bribery, was condemned by Cambyfes to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place, whence he gave judgment, should remind him of his own duty.

(b) Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years; so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which disposed of the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow citizens.

(c) Amongst them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, or for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

(a) Herod. l. v. c. 25.
l. i. c. 137.

(b) Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7.

(c) Herod.

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(d) He 2425/461

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: Nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. (*d*) Upon this principle it was, that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both to the state and royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, (*e*) and acknowledged, that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgements, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without bringing his accuser to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means necessary, for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge: And in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have suffered, had he been found guilty. (*f*) Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions. One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end, sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great credit he had with his majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without further examination. For such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their business to shut out the innocent from all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned; but he desired of the king, before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king did

(*d*) Herod. l. vii. c. 194.

(*e*) Γίους αἱ ταχύτερα αὐτῷ, σοφύτερα

ἐλασμέλιος εἰν, ἴλυστι.

(*f*) Diod. l. xv. p. 333—336.

did so: And as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had writ against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his tryal; all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master. This prince, who was very wise, and knew that one of the true signs of a prudent government was to have the subjects stand more in fear of the * laws, than of informers, would have thought, that to have acted otherwise than he did, would have been a direct violation of the most common rules of † natural equity and humanity; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would have been exposing the honest simplicity of good and faithful subjects to the cruel malice of detestable informers, and arming these with the sword of publick authority: In a word, it would have been divesting the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

(g) There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes; in him, I mean, whom the scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius, the son of Hystaspes, from whom Haman had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him; but, which is more, by a publick acknowledgment of his error, which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority

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(g) Esth. c. iii. &c.

* Non jam delatores, sed leges tigit, irritat. *Sueton in vita Dr.*

timenter. *Plin. in Paneg. Traj.*

mit. c. ix.

† Princeps, qui delatores non eas-

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thereby, they procure them the more respect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impose, by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their natural sincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not ashamed to acknowledge, that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who were his faithful subjects, and the children of the most high God, through whose goodness he and his ancestors had attained to the throne.

(b) The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shown; but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed amongst them as a mean and infamous vice. What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, because it makes people liars.

SECT. IV. *The care of the provinces.*

IT seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is nearly inspected; and the very sight of the throne is capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanours on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and, we may also say with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into *an hundred and twenty-seven governments, the governors whereof were called satrapæ. Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of

(b) Herod. l. i. c. 138.

* Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces. Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229, 232.

the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus, in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These satrapæ were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: For it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together; since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful unless his people be happy.

These satrapæ being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus assigned them certain funds and revenues proportionable to their station and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect as he desired they should be to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: So that the same order which reigned in the prince's court might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the satrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent as far as possible, all abuses, which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the satrapæ, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and caused the governors of places, the commanders of the troops and other such like officers, to depend immediately upon the prince himself; from whom alone they were to receive their orders and instructions, that if the satrapæ were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were so many overseers and censors of their conduct. And to make this correspondence by letters, the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers,

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(i) Plut.
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who travelled night and day, and made wonderful dispatch. But I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of this section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

Notwithstanding all this, the care of the provinces was not entirely left to the satrapæ and governors: The king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat these words to the king every morning when he waked: *(i) Rise, Sir, and think of discharging the duties, for which Oromasdes has placed you upon the throne.* Oromasdes was the principal god, anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says Plutarch in the account he gives of this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition: His own heart, and the love he has for his people are sufficient monitors.

(k) The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time, personally to visit all the provinces of his empire; being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; to *reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities; to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the dint of power and severity, as by reason and temper; to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity: In a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influences universally, or rather like a kind of divinity, to be present every-where, to see, to hear, and know every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

S 2

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(i) Plut. ad Princ. indoct. p. 780.

* Reconciliare æmulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum, insectumque reddere quic-

(k) Xenoph. in Oeconom. p. 228. quid fieri non oportuerit; postremum velocissimi fiderismore omnia invisere omnia audire, & undecumque invocatum, statim, velut numen, adesse & adfuerit. *Plin. in Panegy. Traj.*

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent, in his stead, some of the greatest men of the kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of every thing. When these or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration, and shows how well they understood in those days, wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not only employed upon great objects, as, war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the reparation of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and above all the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting of all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing in short came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And, indeed whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is intitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonweal is universal. * It extends itself to all matters, and takes in in every thing: It is the support of private persons, as well as of the publick. Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing

* Is, cui curæ sunt universa, nullam non reip. partem tanquam sui nutrit.
Senec. lib. de Clem. c. xiii.

thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

(1) I have already said, that agriculture was one of the main things, on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was to make husbandry flourish; and those satrapæ, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government; so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and œconomy. For these two employments had a near relation; the business of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almost with the same degree of affection; because both concurred and were equally necessary for the publick good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security; so neither can the soldiers on the other hand be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason therefore that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and canton was cultivated; that he might know whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the Younger, as to inform himself, whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the super-intendants and overseers, whose provinces or cantons were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons who did not labour and improve their grounds. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry amongst his subjects, which is the surest means of preventing that increase of drones and idle fellows, that are such a burthen upon the publick, and a dishonour to the state.

S 3

Xenophon

(1) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 827—830.

(m) Xenophon, in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker therein, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as the employment in the world the most worthy of men's application, the most ancient, and the most suitable to their nature; as the common nurse of persons of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lyfander the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, made the following answer: That the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune; and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour, and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure and so conformable to right reason. (n) *Cum Cyrus respondisset, Ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum meâ manu sunt satæ: tum Lyfandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, & nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: * RECTE VERO TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUE FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST.* How much is it to be wished, that our young nobility, who, in the time of peace, do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely, after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality, especially if they would consider, that for several ages it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike people in the world! The reader may easily perceive that I mean the ancient Romans.

The

(m) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 830—833.

* In the original Greek there is still a greater energy. Διαιτάς μεν δόξης, ἀ κούρ, εὐδαίμων σίμω ἀφελός γάρ με αἰνῆ εὐδαίμωνες. Thou art

(n) Cic. de senect. num 50.

worthy, Cyrus, of that happiness thou art possessed of; because with all thy affluence and prosperity thou art also virtuous.

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The invention of posts and couriers.

(o) I promised to give some account in this place of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus; nor indeed can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire after its last conquests, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required, that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, should write to him and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies; in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to put himself into a condition of receiving speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and of sending his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed in every province. Having computed how far a good horse, with a brisk rider, could go in a day, without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a post-master, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day, with extraordinary speed: Nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the season, interrupt its progress. (p) Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.

These couriers were called in the Persia language, *Αγγαροι**. The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. (q) Darius, the last king of the ancient Persians, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon

S 4

phon

(o) Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232. (p) Her. l. viii. c. 98. (q) Plut. l. de fortun. Alex. p. 326. & in vit. Alex. p. 674. ubi pro *Αγγαροι*; legendum *Αγγαροί*.

* *Αγγαροι* is derived from a word verb *ἀγγαρεύω* compellere, cogere which in that language signifies a and the Latins, *angariare*. According to Suidas they were likewise called *ἀσπιδάρχοι* from thence the Greeks borrowed their *astendæ*.

phon takes notice, that this establishment subsisted in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews: Which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts erected by Cyrus.

The world is justly surpris'd to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the east by Cyrus, and continued so for many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering the usefulness of it to a government, should never be imitated in the west, particularly by people so expert in politicks as the Greeks and the Romans.

It is more astonishing, that where this invention was put in execution, it was not further improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state, without considering the many advantages the publick might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds; by the expedition it would have procured to the affairs of private persons; the dispatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what a difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news or to treat of affairs together; being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of some other person, that was going into the province or country, whither they had letters to send; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents, and delays.

At present we enjoy this general conveniency at a small expence; but we do not thoroughly consider the advantage of it; the want whereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing

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observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all parts of the kingdom, did, for their sakes and convenience, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels and packets for the publick as well as the university. In the university-registers of the four nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled *Nuntii volantes*, to signify the great speed and dispatch they were obliged to make.

The state then is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter-carriers. And it was at her own charge and expence that she erected these offices; to the satisfaction both of our kings and the publick. She has moreover maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never were any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges, as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund, or support, than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that the late king, Lewis XV. by his decree of the council of state, of the 14th of April 1719, and by his letters-patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university the students shall be taught gratis; and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eight-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eight-and-twentieth part amounted that

year to the sum of one hundred and eighty-four thousand livres, or thereabouts *.

It is not therefore without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, reckons Lewis XV. as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit, which becomes it. And indeed, the labours of masters and professors, who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. (r)

Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.

SECT. V. *Administration of the revenues.*

THE prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him is the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But to enable him for these ends, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expences. It is moreover just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of empire; as also to procure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons, that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and imposition of taxes. As the publick advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expences of the state, have been the first causes of these burthens; so ought they likewise to be the constant standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions; since every private person ought to think himself very happy, that he can purchase his peace and security at the expence of so slender a contribution.

(s) The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in monies imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with several of the products of the earth in kind;

(r) Quintil. l. xii. c. 7.

(s) Herod. l. iii. c. 89—97.

* About 8500l. sterling.

kind; as corn, and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. (t) Strabo relates, that the satrapa of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, twenty thousand young colts. By this we may form a judgement of the other levies in the several provinces. But we are to consider that the tributes were only exacted from the conquered nations: For the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and of determining the sums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius, at which time, the pecuniary impositions, as near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near forty-four millions French money *.

(u) The place wherein was kept the public treasure was called in the Persian language Gaza. There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Parsagada, at Damascus, and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money, chiefly used by the Persians, was of gold; and called *Daricus*, from the name of † Darius, who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The Darick is sometimes also called *Stater aureus*, because the weight of it, like that of the *Attick Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.

(x) Besides these tributes, which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provisions for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other necessaries for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for the remounting of his calvary. This contribution was imposed upon the six-score satrapies, or provinces, each of them furnishing such a part

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as

(t) Herod xi. p. 530. (u) Curt. l. iii. c. 12. (x) Her. l. iii. c. 91—97. & l. i. c. 192.

* About two millions sterling.

been the first who caused this money to be coined.

† Darius the Mede, otherwise called Cyaxares, is supposed to have

as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, did alone furnish the whole contribution for the space of four months, and consequently bore a third part of the burthen of the whole imposition, whilst all the rest of Asia together did but contribute the other two thirds.

By what has been already said on this subject ; we see the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and to take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded ; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money without suffering great losses ; whereas nothing can tend so much to the rendering of taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation and trouble, as well as expence, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as that country produceth ; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

(y) There were likewise certain cantons assigned and set apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe ; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments : And these cantons, which were of great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day ; these cantons, I say, took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated ; and were accordingly called, one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and so on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Persians.

(z) The way of the king's giving pensions in those days to such persons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queen. We read that the king of Persia assigned the revenue of four cities to Themistocles ; one of which to supply him with

(y) Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 123. (z) Plut. in Themist. p. 127.

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with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture. (a) Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner with Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular consideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of seven cities. In following times, we find many instances of a like nature.

ARTICLE II.

Of their war.

THE people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they all grew effeminate through luxury and pleasure. When I say all, I must be understood to except the Persians, who even before Cyrus, as well as in his reign had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reason of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a thing of no little importance for the forming of good soldiers. But the good education which the Persians gave their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, what perfection and excellence you find in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in Cyrus's reign; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be shewn in the sequel.

I. *Their entrance into the service, or into military discipline.*

(b) The Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises. Generally

(a) Athen. l. i. p. 30. (b) Strab. l. xv. p. 734. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. sub finem

Generally speaking, they served in the armies, from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether they were in peace or war, they always wore swords as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to list themselves at the time appointed, and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in that respect, as will be seen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes (c) to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired, as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.

(d) Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, which were called immortal, because this body, which consisted of ten thousand, perpetually subsisted and was always complete; for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The establishment of this body probably began with the ten thousand men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their singular courage. (e) Quintus Curtius mentions also this body of men, and another body besides, consisting of fifteen thousand, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: The latter were called Doryphori, or the Lancers.

II. *Their armour.*

The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scymitar, *acinaces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin, or half-pike, having a sharp-pointed iron at the end.

It seems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to sling, and the other to fight with. They made great use of the bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown amongst them; but they did not set much value upon it.

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(c) Herod. l. iv. & vi. Sen. de Ira, l. iii. c. 16. & 17.
c. 23.

(e) Lib. iii. c. 3.

(d) Lib. vii.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called tiara's; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, (f) and of his army. And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we must conclude that their custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or other pieces of armour, which covered the arms, thighs and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves for the most part had their faces, breasts and flanks covered with brass. These were what are called *equi cataphracti*, barbed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of their shields. At first they made use of very small and light ones; made only of twigs, of osier, *gera*. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the light armed soldiers, that is, the archers, slingers, &c. composed the bulk of the armies amongst the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight; he, I say, for these reasons, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

III. Chariots armed with scythes.

(g) Cyrus introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war. These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast

(f) De exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263.

(g) Xen. Cyr. l. vi. p. 152.

breast, with two men in each; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and the other only for driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service; since, for the equipping of three hundred chariots, were required twelve hundred horses and six hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, though all men of merit and distinction, and capable of doing great service, if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting-men that rode in them, by putting the drivers into a condition to fight, as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that they should not be so easily broken; and their axle-trees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axle-tree he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and caused other scythes to be fixed under the same axle-tree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots should overturn. (*b*) It appears from several passages in authors, that in after-times, besides all this, they added two long iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives to hinder any one from mounting behind.

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain causes of the victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all others to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the people found the inconveniences of them, and at length laid them aside. For to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in vast large plains, where the soil was
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(*b*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41.

very even, and where there were no rivulets, gutters, woods, nor vineyards.

In after-times several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless. (i) It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances, upon them, and at the same time fall a shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses of the chariots, and occasioned such disorder and confusion among them, as often made them turn about and run foul upon their own forces. (k) At other times they would render the chariots ineffectual and unactive, only by marching over the space, which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner, that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots by raising loud peals of laughter, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, and by crying out, that they should send more.

IV. *Their discipline in peace as well as in war.*

Nothing can be imagined more perfect, than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The methods used by that great prince, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually breathing and employed in laborious works,

(i) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41.

(k) Plat. in Syl. p. 463.

to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards; all this, I say, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally speaking, peace and tranquility become extremely pernicious; for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies infinitely sharpen and excite. * A wise prescience of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever will be needful in time of war.

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness, as on a day of battle; not a soldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom amongst all Asiatics, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. (1) They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches; though sometimes they fortified them with good pallisadoes, and long stakes driven into the ground.

By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and of their manner of marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of their exactness on a day of battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the accounts we have of it in several parts of the *Cyropædia*. No single family can be better regulated, or pay a more speedy and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the

(1) Diod. l. i. p. 24. 25.

* ————— Metuenique futuri,
In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello. *Hor. Satyr. ii. l. 2.*

the beginning, in order to establish a good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their * leader, who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his discourse, and softened the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid down to himself of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. † For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession, even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others. Cyrus had the art of inspiring his common soldier even with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow citizens; and above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in its full force and vigour.

V. *Their order of battle.*

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else but field expeditions; for which reason that wise prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to victory, than a numerous and good cavalry; and the gaining of one single pitched battle was was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we see, that having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary succour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect and

* Dux, cultu levi, capite instructo, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adest: laudem strenuis, solatium invalidis exemplum omnibus ostendit. *Tacit. Annal.* l. xiii. c. 35.

† Cecidisse in irritum labores, si præmi periculis soli assequantur, qui periculis non assuerunt. *Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 53.*

and so far succeeded, by his great application and activity, as to form a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness at least if not in number. (m) There were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media: but in the latter province, those of a place, called Nisea, were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished. We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbraea may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to show how far their ability extended either in the use of arms, or the disposition of armies.

They knew that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend themselves, as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, one single line might easily be pierced through and broken; so would not be able to rally and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason, they formed the first line of foot heavily armed, * twelve men deep, who, on the first onset, made use of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy body to body with their swords, or scymitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads

(m) Herod. l. vii. c. 40. Strab. l. xi. p. 630.

* Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty four men.

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of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who flung great stones with a terrible force; but, in after-time the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear-guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

They had besides moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army behind the body of reserve, and served to support their troops, when they were driven by the enemy; and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use too of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them at certain times upon the flanks of the army; or, when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the ancients carry their knowledge in the military art with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable country, of bringing the war into a close one, of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; of laying artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see, that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or
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mountains ; and by that means to make the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous ; and to put it out of the enemy's power to surround or flank them.

Yet in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, there seems to have been some beginnings, and a kind of essay of this art ; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience made the great commanders in after-ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war ; and we have already shown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations made of them.

VI. *Their manner of attacking and defending strong places.*

The ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and the variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

I. *Their way of attacking places.*

The first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and places of arms ; and between the wall and the town they dug a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with pallisadoes, to hinder the besieged from going out, as well as to prevent succours from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related by the ancients ; as that of * Troy which lasted ten years ; that of Azoth by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty ; that of Nineveh, where we find Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven.

And

* Homer makes no mention of the ram or any warlike engine,

And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had lain in stock of provisions for twenty years, if he had not used a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders, against the walls, by means whereof a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made their walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of ramparts; and this was building moving towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them, with those wooden towers. On the top of these towers which formed a kind of plat-form, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who with darts and arrows, and the assistance of their balistæ and catapultæ, scowered the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then from a lower stage of the tower they let down a kind of drawbridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast thick beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it; which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. There were several kinds of them; but I shall give a more ample and particular account of these, as well as of other warlike engines in another place.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways; that is, either to carry on a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of
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the city, and so open themselves a passage and entrance into it; or else, after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it, to fill the space with all sorts of combustibile matter, and then to set the matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

The manner of defending places.

With respect to the fortifying and defending of towns the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made their ditches deep, and of a steep ascent, and fenced them round with pallisadoes, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone, or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derived their origin, for the flanking of the courtins, the ingenious invention of different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with vast force and violence; their parapets and battlements in the walls for the soldiers security, and their covered galleries which went quite round the walls, and served as subterraneous passages; their intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers; they made their sallies too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set engines on fire; as also their countermines to defeat the mines of the enemy; and lastly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in case of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification, as it was practised

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practised among the ancients ; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns ; as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine that, because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gunpowder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram ; and musket-shot in the room of balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed ? By no means. The ancients made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanick powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. *The condition of the Persian forces after Cyrus's time.*

I have already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes, that after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that result from severity, order, or discipline ; from the drawing up of an army ; their order in marching and encamping ; and that happiness of conduct which moves those great bodies without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness ; and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution enough, but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons, in the retinue of the king and his chief officers.

For to such an height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasures and delights in the army, as in the king's court; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils so voluptuous a life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, had the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion the troops could not act in concert: Their orders never reached them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's preventing disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed all that could be met with in a very short time; nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

But with all this vast train, the Persians astonished those nations that were as unexpert in military affairs as themselves; and many of those that were better versed therein, were yet overcome by them, being either weakened or distressed by their own divisions, or overpowered by their enemy's numbers. And by this means Egypt, as proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of her Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the Lesser Asia, and such Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active, by wrestling and other

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exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but small; but they were like your strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part: At the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul; so perfect an harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III.

Arts and sciences.

I Do not pretend to give an account of the eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poesy; its true design; the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections, and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, and be adapted to the majesty of the subjects it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the east, as he himself did, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles, as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of the eastern eloquence in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to (n) Plato, that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, of which they have falsely ascribed the invention to chimerical persons, much posterior to the deluge. (o) The holy scripture informs us, that before that epocha, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and
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brass,

(n) In Timæo, p. 22.

(o) Gen. c. vi.

brass, and putting them to numberless uses, that are necessary and convenient for life and society.

We learn from the same scriptures, that very soon after the deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it to gild wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals; as brass, silver, or gold; and of making all sorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting or carving upon wood, stone, or marble: And, 5. to name no more, that of dying their silks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the nurse, as it were, of arts and sciences, of which the remembrance had been preserved by tradition; and which were afterwards revived again, and restored by means of men's wants and necessities, which put them upon all the methods of industry and application.

SECT. I. *Architecture.*

THE building of the tower of Babel, and shortly after of those famous cities Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of royal and other palaces, divided into sundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and symmetry of the pillars, and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers; their large commodious keys on the banks of their great rivers; and their curious bold bridges built over them: All these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature,

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show to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

Yet I cannot say, whether in those ages this art rose to that degree of perfection, which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy, or those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and spaciousness. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian, and Composite: But we never hear of an Asiatick or Egyptian order; which gives us reason to doubt whether the symmetry, measures, and proportions of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.

SECT. II. *Musick.*

IT is no wonder, if in a country like Asia, addicted to voluptuous and luxurious living, musick, which is in a manner the soul of such enjoyments, was in high esteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal notes of ancient musick, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Dorick, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. (p) We learn from holy scripture, that in Laban's time instrumental musick was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law Jacob, he complains, that by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family *with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp.* (q) Amongst the booty that Cyrus ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two famous * female musicians, very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.

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(p) Gen. xxxi. 27.

(q) Cyrop. l. iv. p. 13.

* Μουσικὸν δὲ τὰς κρατίδας.

To determine what degree of perfection musick was carried to by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, because, to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of musick composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But, unhappily, it is not with musick in this respect, as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whilst, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment of it, and determine whether the musick of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the rythmus. What is meant by rythmus, is the assemblage, or union of various times in musick, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it is to be observed, that the musick we are here speaking of, was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which every syllable was distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former reckoned to make up but one time, whilst the latter made up two; and consequently the sound which answered to this, was to continue twice as long, as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to consist of two times, or measures, whilst the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung, consisted of a certain number of feet formed by the different combination of these long and short syllables; and that the rythmus of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of what nature or extent soever, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called *ægræ*,
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elevation or raising; and the latter *deors*, depression or falling: So the rythmus of the song, which answered to every one of those feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally by what we now call a *beat*, and a rest of intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their vocal musick, made their rythmus much more perfect and regular than ours: For our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but nevertheless a skilful musician amongst us, may in some sort express, by the length of the sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the rythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done out of regard for young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the musick of the ancients, is to know whether they understood musick in several parts, that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time have an harmonious connexion, as it is in our counter-point or concert, whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the musick of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy des Belles-lettres*; which shew the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

SECT. III. *Physick.*

WE likewise discover in those early times the origin of physick, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. (r) Herodotus, and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a

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general

(r) Her. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. xvi. p. 746.

general custom among the Babylonians to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn of them, whether they had been afflicted with the like distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence several people have pretended that physick is nothing else but a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. (s) The custom was in those days, for all persons that had been sick, and were cured, to put up a picture of Æsculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to their health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, which were of great advantage to him.

(t) Physick was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem. Æsculapius, who flourished at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to a great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations: For in those days these several branches were not separated from one another, but were all included together under the denomination of physick.

(u) The two sons of Æsculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were both excellent physicians and brave officers; and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in their physical, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. (x) Nor did Achilles himself, or even Alexander the Great in after times, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learned it himself of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards instructed his governor and friend Patroclus in it, who did

not

(s) Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 374.

(t) Diod. l. v. p. 341.

(u) Hom. Iliad. l. x. v. 821—847.

(x) Plut. in Alex. p. 668.

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p. 211

not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately alluaged the pain, and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physick which treats of herbs and plants was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. (y) Virgil speaking of a celebrated physician, who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples. *Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi maluit.* It was nature herself that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use of them. (z) Their gardens, fields, and woods supplied them gratis with an infinite plenty and variety. (a) As yet no use was made of minerals, treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.

(b) Pliny says, that physick, brought by Æsculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit. This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it always cultivated, and constantly held in great reputation. (c) The great Cyrus, as is observed by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard: He further remarks, that in this, Cyrus only followed a custom, that had been anciently established among their generals; (d) and that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates, who carried this science to its highest perfection: And though it be certain, that several improvements and new discoveries have been made in that art

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(y) *Æn.* l. xii. v. 396.(z) *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 1.(a) *Ibid.*

l. xxiv. c. 1.

(b) *Lib.* xxix. c. 9.(c) *Cyrep.* l. i. p. 29. & l. viii.

p. 212.

(d) *De exped.* *Cyr.* l. ii. p. 311.

since his time, yet is he still looked upon by the ablest physicians, as the first and chief master of the faculty, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those that would distinguish themselves in that profession.

Men thus qualified, who, beside their having studied the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, as also the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have had a long practice and experience, and to that have added their own serious reflections; such men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings: *(e) The skill of the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration;* since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings are devoted to the people's health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but through a blind credulity they foolishly entrust it with persons of no skill or experience*, who impose upon them by their impudence, and presumption; or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.

SECT. IV. *Astronomy.*

AS much as the Grecians desired to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The advantageous† situation of Babylon, which was built upon
a wide

(e) Ecclus. xxxviii. 3.

* *Palam est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vitæ nostræ necisque fieri—Adeo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique succedo. Plin. xxix. c. i.*

† *A Principio Assyrii propter pla-*

nitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cum cælum ex omni parte patens & apertum intuerentur, trajectionis motusque stellarum observaverunt. Cic. lib. i. de Divin.

n. 2.

a wide, extended flat country, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular course of the stars. * The abbot Renaudot, in his dissertation upon the sphere, observes, that the plain which in scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same as is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaleddeen Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides caused a course of the like observations to be made near three hundred years afterwards in the same place: From whence it appears, that this place was always reckoned one of the properest in the world for astronomical observations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the help of telescopes which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical enquiries more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a great and credible author, according to Pliny (f) speaks of observations made for the space of seven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon squares of brick; which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity. (g) Those of which Calisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's court, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence

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* *Memoirs of the Academy des Belles-lettres, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 2.*

(f) Plin. hist. nat. l. vii. c. 56.
l. ii. de astro.

(g) Porphy. apud. Simplic. in

very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious enquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science, not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself: with which, as Plato shows, (*b*) the study of that science has a very close and necessary connexion; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity, who with an infinite wisdom presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who, by their successful * application and astronomical enquiries, came very near the Creator, and yet were so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

SECT. V. *Judicial Astrology.*

AS to the Babylonian and other eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done to the knowledge of him, who is both their creator and director, that for the most part it carried them into impious practices, and the extravagances of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretel events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects. A science justly looked upon as a mad-
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(*b*) In *Epinom.* p. 989—992.

* *Magna industria, magna sollicitudo: sed ibi Creatorem scrutati sunt, non Deum. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. vi. c. 1.*

invenerunt—quia querere neglexerunt. *Aug. de verb. Evang. Math. Serm. lxxv. c. 1.*

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ness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. (i) *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero, in refuting the extravagant opinion of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first produced them; who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events, for the space only of four hundred and seventy thousand years, pretended to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and in a word, all the events, with the duration of his life. He repeats a thousand absurdities of this opinion, the very ridicule of which sufficiently exposes it to contempt; and asks, why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two of them, whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this further question, whether that great number of men, that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?

(k) It is hardly credible, that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, *fraudentissima artium*, as Pliny calls it, should ever acquire so much credit, as this has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into so great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: *Nulla non avido futura de se sciendi*; attended with a superstitious credulity, which finds itself agreeably flattered with the large and grateful promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. *Ita blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus.*

(l) Modern writers, and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendus and Rohault, have inveighed

(i) Lib. ii. de Div. n. 87. 99. (k) Plin. Proëm. l. xxx. (l) Gassendi phys. sect. ii. l. 6. Rohault's phys. part. ii. ch. 27.

weighed against the folly of that pretended science with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the system of the astrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts, which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiack: These twelve parts, or proportions of heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. the most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: The aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypotheses, which are all equally arbitrary; and I ask whether any man of common sense can give into them upon the bare word of these impostors without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of child-bearing? Or is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise determinate moment, without the least variation of more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves on that side. Whatever they have of that, must consist in observations founded upon events, that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in the same situation. Now it is unanimously agreed by all astronomers, that several thousands of years must pass before any such situation of the stars, as they would imagine, can twice happen; and it is very certain that the state, in which the heavens will be to-

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morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above-mentioned, particularly Gassendus, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute want of all reason, is, that certain pretended wits; who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of these astrologers and impostors.

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us, that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a * just chastisement from God, who frequently punisheth the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffers evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still faster in their nets, sometimes to foretell them things which do really come to pass, and of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them †, does often in scripture revile the ignorance of the Babylonian

* His omnibus consideratis, non immerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas & noxias opiniones de astralibus fati inferre humanis mentibus atque firmare non horoscopi notati & inspecti aliqua arte, quæ nulla est. *De Civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 7.

† Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt know from whence it riseth: And mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: And desolation shall come up-

on thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy councils: Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble: The fire shall burn them: They shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame. *Isa. xlvii. 11—14.*

Babylonian astrologers, so much boasted of, calling them forgers of lies and falsehoods: He moreover defies all their false gods to foretel any thing whatsoever, and consents, if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries, with which she shall be overwhelmed above two hundred years after that prediction; and that none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with assurances of a perpetual grandeur they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its execution, when (m) Belshazzar the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, Chaldeans, and, in a word, all the pretended sages of the country were not able so much as to read the writing. Here then we see astrology and magick convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in vogue, and on an occasion when it is certainly their interest to display their science and whole power.

ARTICLE IV.

Religion.

THE most authentick and general idolatry in the world is that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude; which instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil, which both covered and discovered him. With the least reflection or penetration they might have discerned the sovereign who commanded, from the * minister who did obey.

In all ages mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: And adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desire

(m) Dan. c. v.

* Among the Hebrews the ordinary name for the sun signifies ministers

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desires and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their * hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up to those false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the east, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved: † *If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand.*

(n) The Persians adored the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade. (This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians; of whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it, and brought it into Palestine.) (o) Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known amongst them by the name of Mithra.

(p) By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it first in the sacrifices, (q) carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; entrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended to, none but the magi, and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out. (r) History informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved till that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout

(n) Her. l. i. c. 131.

(o) 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 732.

(p) Ibid.

(q) Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xxiii.

(r) Zonar. Annal. Vol. II.

* Superstitiosus vulgus manum *say* ad os manum ad movere.

ori admovens, osculum labiis pre-
sit. Minbuc. p. 2. *From thence is* † *The text is a kind of oath.* Job.
xxxi. 26, 27.

come the word adorare; that is to

throughout the whole country. (s) The Persians likewise honoured the water, the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element; for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that *they caused their children to pass through the fire*. It is well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces in Asia.

(t) Besides these, the Persians had two gods of a more extraordinary nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius. The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a large account of these deities hereafter.

(u) The Persians erected neither statues nor temples, nor altars to their gods, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. (x) It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of. * It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteemed it injurious to the majesty of God to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as an house or a temple.

† Cicero thinks, that in this the Greeks and Romans acted

(s) Her. l. i. c. 131. (t) Plut. in lib. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 369.

(u) Herod. l. i. c. 131. (x) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233.

* Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur, quod parietibus includerunt deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset & domus, Cic. l. ii. de Legib.

† Melius Græci atque nostri, qui, ut angerent pietatem in deos easdem illos urbes, quas nos, incolere voluerunt. Adfert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus, Cic. lib. ii. de Legib.

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acted more wisely than the Persians, in that they erected temples within their cities, and thereby supposed their gods to reside among them, which was a proper way to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the same opinion: (y) (St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works.) After having observed that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues or images for above an hundred and seventy years, he adds, that, if they had still preserved that ancient custom, their religion would have been the purer and freer from corruption: *Quod si adhuc mansisset, castius dii observarentur*; and to confirm this sentiment, he cites the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestick interest. This was a fine way of attaching all particular persons to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves alone, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow citizens.

The Magi were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to their worship; and it was to them the people had recourse, in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what days, to what gods, and after what manner they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and that none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles, (z) and was according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for that distinguished person.

This knowledge and skill in religious matters, which made Plato define magick, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, *θεῶν δερατείν*, gave the Magi great authority both with the

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(y) Lib. iv. de Civ. Dei. n. 31. (z) In Them. p. 126.

prince and people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

* And before a prince in Persia could come to the crown, he was obliged to receive instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and to learn of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without taking their advice and opinion before-hand; for which reason † Pliny says, that even in his time they were looked upon in all the eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who stiled themselves the king of kings.

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning in Persia; as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were amongst the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that learning, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only his doctrine of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. (a) What Pliny says upon this head, may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciously observed by Dr. Prideaux. We read in that author, that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of six hundred years. The first of them was the founder of the Magian sect

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(a) Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

* Nec quisquam rex Persarum (auctoritas magorum) ut hodieque potest esse, qui non ante magorum disciplinam scientiamque perciperit. *Cit. de Divin. l. i. n. 91.* etiam in magna parte gentium praevalcat, & in oriente regum regibus imperet. *Plin. l. xxx. c. 1.*

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about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the east, and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal sects; that of the Sabeans, who adored images; and that of the Magians, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the study of the several planets, which they believed to be inhabited by so many intelligencies, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligencies, or deities, were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time, the number of their gods considerably increased; this image-worship from Chaldea spread itself throughout all the east; from thence passed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabeans was diametrically opposite that of the Magians, which also took its rise in the same east-countries. The Magians utterly abhorred images, and worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtilty, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol or representation of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, where they remain even to this day. The chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cause of all good and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Abraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes and the latter Arimanius, (b) And therefore when Xerxes prayed,

(b) Plut. in Themist. p. 126.

prayed, that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes their good god.

Concerning these two gods they had this difference of opinion; that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity; others contended, that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thence-forward each of them shall have his world to himself; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians, but since the death of Smerdis and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, was fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was in the first principle of it. For whereas before they had held as a fundamental principle the being of the two supreme first causes; the first light, which was the author of all good; and the other darkness, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principal superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who, out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one supreme Being independent and self-existing from all eternity: That under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil: That these two out of the mixture of
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light and darkness made all things that are ; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other ; and that were the angel of light prevails, there good reigns ; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place ; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world ; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishments of their evil deeds ; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds ; that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that sect, which is now in Persia and India, do without any variation after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader, that almost all these articles, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy scriptures ; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God ; the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled ; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might confer with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fires were carefully and constantly preserved ; and especially that which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priests kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, &c. from whence I have taken this short extract.

Their

Their marriages, and manner of burying the dead.

Having said so much of the religion of the eastern nations, which is an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greater brevity. Amongst which their marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

(c) There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a greater idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the publick prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorised by law but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain festival of the year, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel or place of debauchery. (d) This wicked custom was still in being when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so abominable a scandal.

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, than the Babylonians. (e) I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios, and of which they were as jealous as if they had but one wife, keeping them all shut up in separate apartments under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors. (f) It strikes one with horror to read how far they neglected the most common laws of nature. Even incest with a sister was allowed amongst them by their laws, or at least authorised by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyfes. Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body.

(c) Herod. l. i. c. 199.
i. c. 135.
Proem. p. 6.

(d) Baruch vi. 42. & 43.

(e) Herod. l. i. c. 135.
(f) Philo. lib. de Special. leg. p. 778. Diog. Laer. in

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body. (e) We read in Plutarch, that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. For, says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, *Are not you yourself set by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?*

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who being become master of Persia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the gospel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying their dead. (f) It was not the custom of the eastern nations and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to consume their bodies in the flames. (g) Accordingly we find that * Cyrus, when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of; by which he seems to declare that he looked upon the earth as the original parent, from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return. (h) And when Cambyfes had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary

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(e) In Artax. p. 1023. (f) Herod. l. iii. c. 16. (g) Cyrop. l. viii. 238. (h) Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

* Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem. Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, & ita

locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur. Cic. lib. ii. de Leg. n. 56.

trary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of * the latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give the larger account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of † Barnabus Briffon, president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with matter of erudition, and costs him little, and yet often does him great honour

ARTICLE V.

The cause of the declension of the Persian empire, and of the change that happened in their manners.

WHEN we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus, and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people; and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any state is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: Their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their prince, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

* Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, & eos domi servant: Persæ jam cerâ cineribus condunt, ut quàm maxime permaneant diuturna corpora.

Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. n. 108.

† Barnab. Brissonius de regio Persarum principatu, &c. Argentorati an. 1710.

SECT. I. *Luxury and magnificence.*

WHAT made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy; having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon, inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing.

The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus (*i*) would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate. The excellent manner of educating the ancient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and fancies of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the publick good; this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them therefore we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know whether Cyrus him-

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(*i*) Plut. in Apophth. p. 172.

self did not at that very time sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first showed himself in publick to his new conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence and show that could be contrived to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, given them all garments, made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye and makes a fine show, how glad they are to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

(k) This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and what an equipage such a troop must be attended with is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with the greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another instance of their folly was, that they carried their luxury and extravagance in the army, with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible,

(k) *Xenoph. Cyrop. l. iv. p. 91—99*

possible, than they did in their cities. (1) The most exquisite meats, the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties must needs be found for the prince in what part of the world soever he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; * instruments of luxury, says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reasons Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be owned, indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes, possessed of a real and solid merit, have a thousand ways of making up what they may seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct, than by the greatness of his expenses, and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person, than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for vanity and expense first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain indisputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms: And the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate this maxim.

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(1) Senec. l. iii. de Ira. c. 20.

* Non belli sed luxuriæ apparatus—Aciem Persarum auro purpureaque fulgen tem intueri jubebat Alexander, prædam, non arma gestantem Q. Curt.

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What is this subtle, secret poison then, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the seasons; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniencies and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements, that endear it to them, and which by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their pince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

SECT. II. *The abject submission and slavery of the Persians.*

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And, indeed, what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies; and as it was finely said by one of the ancients (*m*) *from the day a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue.* He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he be-

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(*m*) Hom. Odyss. v. 322.

comes indifferent about the success of publick affairs, about the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which, his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be said, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think that a despotick power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open; and free access allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table, not only his general officers and prime ministers, but even subalterns and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. * The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently. His aim therein was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

In the reading of Xenophon, with what pleasure do we observe, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and raillery; but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gaiety which enlivened their entertainments, from which all vanity and luxury were banished and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity, which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such a life and spirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expence. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable

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* Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ut tot impendiis tot erogationibus sola sufficiat. *Plin. in Paneg. Traj.*

to millions of such slaves, as the Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident; and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbræa when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice how much it concerns a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess, their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads with an imperial diadem round it, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and shining court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity, when he puts off his ornaments.

Some of the eastern kings, to procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom showed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common, in all the eastern countries. But it is a great mistake, that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so; and (*n*) Plutarch observes that that prince and queen Statira, his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and of easy access to their people; and by so doing were but the more respected.

Among the Persians no subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself

(*n*) In Artax. p. 1013.

self before him : And this law which, (o) Seneca with good reason calls a Persian slavery, *Perficam servitutem*, extended also to foreigners. We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men, born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctance; and we are told that one of them, in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, (p) purposely let fall his ring, when he came near the king, that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about an homage which the kings exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the scripture relates of two sovereigns, (q) on one hand, whereof the one commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the other on the same penalty suspended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himself only; and, on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran all together on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of all the powers of heaven : All this shows to what an extravagant excess the eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality soever, whether satrapæ, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were only looked upon as slaves; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of divinity. (r) In a word, the peculiar character of the Asiatics, and of the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery; which made (s) Cicero say, that the despotick power, some were endeavouring to establish

(o) Lib. iii de Benef. c. 12. & lib. iii. de Ira, c. 17. (p) Ælian l. i. Var. Histor. cap. xxi.

(q) Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. c. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan c. vi.

(r) Plut. in Apophth. p. 213

(s) Lib. x. Epist. ad Attic.

establish in the Roman commonwealth, was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and this abject submission of the people on the other, which, according to Plato, (*t*) were the principal causes of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king. Such an haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed and commanded only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, so dispirited and depressed by slavery, as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude; which to use the words of Longinus, (*u*) is a kind of imprisonment wherein a man's soul may be said in some sort to grow little and contracted?

I am unwilling to say it; but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians, both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians (till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances) first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance: For Xenophon intimates clearly enough that Cyrus (*x*) who desired to have that homage paid him, had appointed persons on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude, and by the Persians as well as the other nations. In
these

(*t*) Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 697.

(*u*) Cap. xxxv.

(*x*) Cyrop. l. ii. p. 215.

these little tricks and stratagems we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion: And I should be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks, wherewith prosperity is always assaulting even the best of princes (y) *secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant*; and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him from himself and his own natural inclinations: (z) *Vi dominationis convulsus & mutatus*.

SECT. III. *The wrong education of their princes, another cause of the declension of the Persian empire.*

IT is Plato (a) still, the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible, how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience. (b) What he most earnestly recommended to his officers, in that fine discourse he made to them, after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner, as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to persevere themselves in the practice of the same manners, as were practised there.

Would one believe, that a prince, who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly about his conquests, he left that

(y) Sallust.

p. 694, 695.

(z) Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 48.

(b) Cyrop. l. vii. p. 200.

(a) Lib. iii. de Leg.

that care intirely to women; that is, to princesses, brought up in a country, where vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes, Cambyfes and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them: Nor were their desires only granted, but prevented. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped and bent the knee before them: and it was thought essential to their greatness, to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars: For Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war; for they must needs have been of sufficient years: But perhaps the women opposed his design, and over-ruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as ought to be expected from it. Cambyfes came out of that school what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excesses of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word a furious frantick mad man, who by his ill conduct brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him at his death a great many vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces

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forces by sea and land: But he had not given him the means for preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflections with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner, as princes were; but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferiour to that of Cyrus, and by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces, as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than him, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor, in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyfes.

From all this Plato, after having shown what numberless rocks and quicksands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the Persian empire, was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

SECT. IV. *Their breach of faith, or want of sincerity.*

(c) **WE** are informed by Xenophon, that one of the causes, both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of publick faith. Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word and inviolably to observe all treaties, into which they had entered with the solemnity of an oath; and that even with respect to those, that had rendered themselves most unworthy

(c) *Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.*

worthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity: And it was by this true policy and prudent conduct, that they gained the absolute confidence; both of their own subjects, and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of the great Cyrus; (d) though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus, whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatsoever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that if probity and truth were renounced by the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king; who being the bond and centre, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of faith engaged; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.

Such sentiments as these, so noble, and so worthy of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious artificial policy soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon, (e) which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief officers of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and supposed interests; * who hold it as a maxim, that falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practise, are the shortest and surest expedients for bringing about his enterprises and designs; who look upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer reasons

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(d) De exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 267.

(e) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

* Ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι οἷν ἐπιθυμοῖν, συνισματωτὴν ὁδὸν ὡς εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλίθιῳ εἶναι. De exped. διὰ τὸ ἐπιρροχέειν, καὶ ψευδεσθαι, καὶ Cyr. l. i. p. 292.

and considerations of state before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in never so solemn and sacred a manner.

The Asiatick nations, continues Xenophon soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety: And from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath, by which treaties are sealed and ratified, and the Deity brought in not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them; and for the keeping all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the supreme Being, how shall they be able to secure their respect and reverence to themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguished in the subjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and by what stays or pillars shall the throne be supported? (f) Cyrus had good reason to say, that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: Nor is it at all astonishing, that the contempt which an impious prince who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shows of God and religion, should shake the foundations of the firmest and best-established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings says (g) Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of

(f) Cyrop. l. viii. p. 204.

(g) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390.

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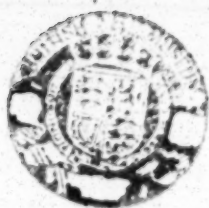
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(g) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390.

of their subjects unfaithfulness and disloyalty : But they do them wrong ; and forget, that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by showing no regard to justice and fidelity, which on all occasions they sacrificed without scruple to their own particular interests.

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